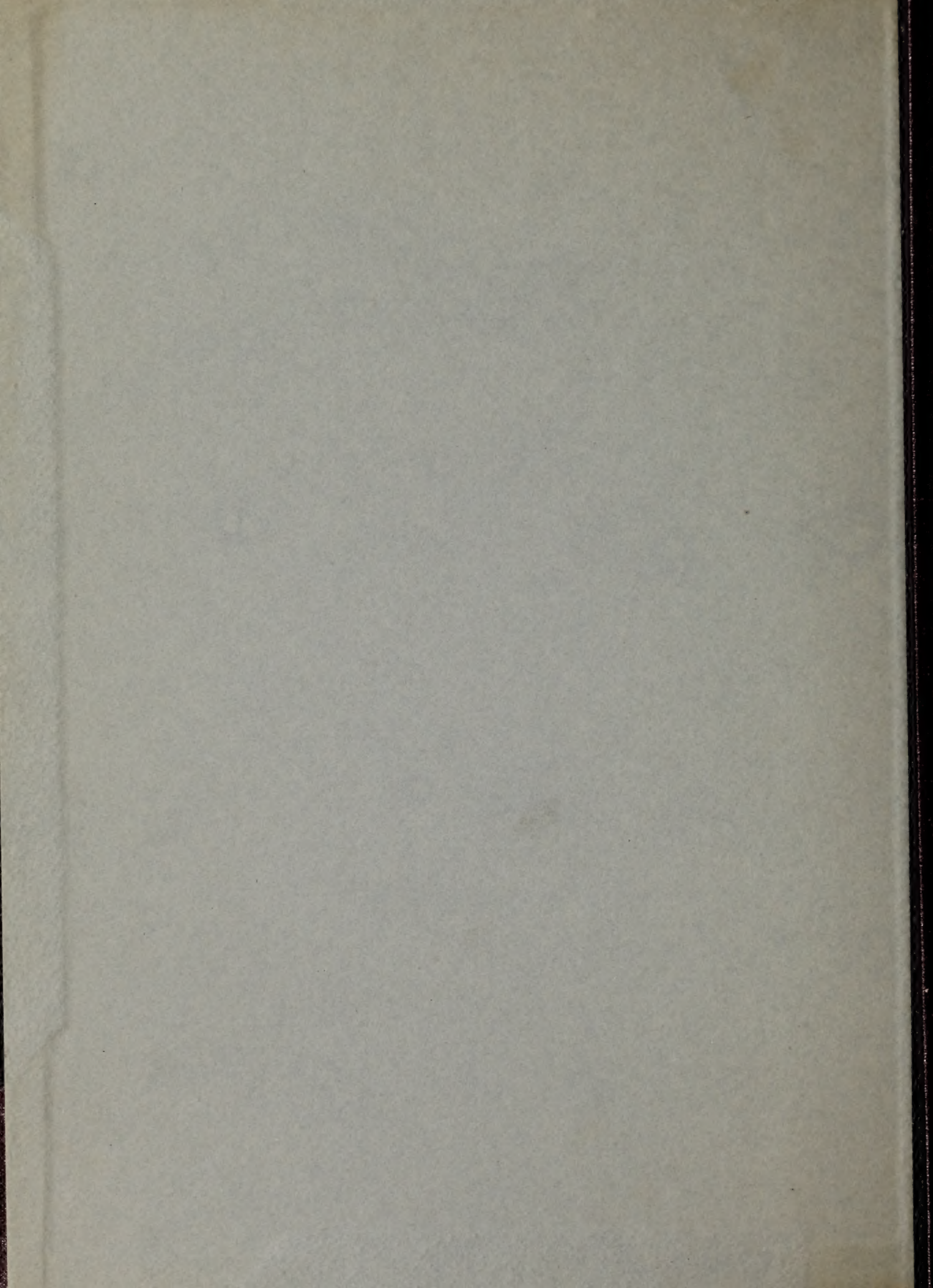


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Decker, R. W.



BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE PETRINE TRADITION AND THE ATTACKS UPON IT

by

Ralph Winfield Decker

(A.B., Wesleyan University, 1932)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

1936

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Introduction

In the second century there arose a tradition that St. Mark derived the material of his Gospel from the sermons which he had heard preached by the Apostle Peter. Beginning with Papias and extending down to Jerome this tradition was accepted and passed on by the Church Fathers. Having been taken more or less at face value down until the rise of the higher criticism this tradition enjoyed widespread and continuous support through some sixteen centuries. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, when the historical method was applied to the study of the Scriptures, several theories have been put forth, that have suggested a different origin for Mark than that which we call the Petrine Tradition. The problem has arisen of determining whether any of these newer views can better account for the writing of our Second Gospel than that which arose soon after its composition.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the tradition, compile the external evidence as to its validity as found in ancient tradition and the internal evidence as found in the Gospel according to Mark, and to study the effect upon it of the theories recently advanced for the origin of Mark. The result hoped for is, in addition to a better understanding of the whole Synoptic Problem for the writer, a determination of the present status of the tradition and the reasons for either accepting it or rejecting it.

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The methods used will be mainly historical and critical.

Naturally some criticism must enter into such a study but this is not the field in which we are interested at the present time. We shall endeavor to trace the rise of the tradition and the attacks made upon it without making any new contribution to the criticism of it. In doing this we shall give as full attention as possible to the contributions to this field already made by others and to the effect, if any, which they have had upon the subject of this thesis.

It is a point which has been made by a number of scholars in the case of the Gospel of Mark. "Criticism has at least shown that this document took, from a very early date, well within the limits of the first century, a commanding position." It appears to have been treated throughout all of the early church, both East and West, with such extraordinary respect that it survived all other forms of the Gospel story. The rivals which it appears to have had, judging the testimony of Luke (1:1), have completely disappeared. Because of this pre-eminence we need not be surprised that such tradition as has been transmitted concerning Gospel origins should in its oldest form be connected exclusively with the writing of this book.

All early tradition connects the Second Gospel with the house, those of Mark, after whom it is named, and Peter, the former being held to have written down what the latter preached. Eusebius, who was Bishop of Caesarea in Syria about 340 A. D., writes in the preface to his book, "The Interpretation of the Gospel."

E. E. Evans, *Mark the Evangelist* - Yale University Press, New Haven, 1912 - p. 82.

Chapter I

The Early Tradition

Among the Gospels, the case of Mark is entirely unique as regards testimony from the earlier ages. This Gospel was earlier in use than any other now extant and the first to be mentioned by name. Moreover, definite statements regarding its authorship and date and the trustworthiness of its material have come down to us from a period considerably earlier than in the case of the other three. "Criticism has at last shown that this document took, from a very early date, well within the limits of the first century, a commanding position.⁽¹⁾" It appears to have been treated throughout all of the early church, both East and West, with such extraordinary respect that it survived all other forms of the Gospel story. The rivals which it appears to have had, judging the testimony of Luke (1:1), have completely disappeared. Because of this pre-eminence we need not be surprised that such tradition as has been transmitted concerning Gospel origins should in its oldest form be concerned exclusively with the writing of this book.

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"But now we must add to the words of his which we have already quoted, (Eusebius has just referred to "traditions of John" cited by Papias), the tradition which he gives in regard to Mark, the author of the Gospel. It is in the following words: 'This also the Presbyter said: 'Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teachings to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses (or "oracles"), so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely.'" (1)

Since Papias wrote not later than 130 A. D., the testimony of the elder probably takes us back to the first century, and shows that the Second Gospel was known in Asia Minor and attributed to Mark and Peter at that early time.

In Papias' time the Gospel of Mark, in spite of its having been the main dependence of the first and third evangelists, had fallen very low in popular esteem, largely because of its lack of an authorship that claimed to be directly apostolic and because the two longer Gospels incorporated so much of it that the possessor of either of them possessed practically all of Mark as well. "There is doubt whether it was ever quoted when a quotat-

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1. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - Second Series - Philip Schaff & Henry Wace, editors - The Christian Literature Co., New York - 1890, Vol. I, p. 172.

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Papias was the first one to connect The Gospel Of Mark with
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The next important reference to the Petrine origin of this Gospel seems to have been that of Justin Martyr (c 100-c 165), an able philosopher, who traveled widely both in Palestine and the West. In his "Dialogue with Trypho" (cvi), written about 150 A. D., we read:

"And when it is said that He imposed on one of the apostles the name Peter, and when this is recorded in his 'Memoirs' with this other fact that He named the two sons of Zebedee 'Boanerges,' which means 'Sons Of Thunder,'" etc. (1)

Although the phrase "his 'Memoirs'" has often been read as though it referred to Jesus and the records of his life, it is now generally accepted that Justin here refers to Peter. In the light of the traditional connection of that name with the Gospel of Mark, there is small room for doubt that Justin had that book in mind when he says that Christ gave the title of "Boanerges" to Zebedee's sons, which fact is mentioned in the New Testament only in Mark (3:17). "Though St. Justin does not name Mark as the writer of the memoirs, the fact that his disciple Tatian used our present Mark, including even the last twelve verses, in the composition of the 'Diatesseron', makes it practically certain that St. Justin knew our present Second Gospel, and like

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The next notice is probably that in the Muratorian Fragment - c 170 A. D. - which gives a list of the New Testament books with a brief account of the authorship of each. The account of Matthew and most of that of Mark are lost, only these words relating to Mark being left: "quibus tamen interfuit, et ita posuit." Since the sentence is incomplete there is a great deal of question concerning its exact meaning. Those who accept this passage as distinctly referring to Mark and his relation to Peter (Swete, Lightfoot, Chase, et al.) regard "quibus tamen" as a literal translation of the Greek "οἷς δὲ" and believe the meaning to be that Mark was not continuously with Peter, and so did not hear some of his discourses, "but at others he was present and so set them down."

Bishop Irenaeus (c 130-c 202) who worked in Asia Minor and in Gaul, has continued the tradition in his "Against Heresies" (III. i. 1, quoted in part in Eus. H. E. V. 8).

"....Peter and Paul went westward and preached and formed the church in Rome. But after their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing things which Peter had preached." (2)

Clement of Alexandria (c 155-c 215), one of the most distinguished teachers in the catechetical school of that city after c 190 A. D. relying upon the authority of "the elder pres-

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1. MacRory, J. - "The Gospel Of St. Mark" - art. in The Catholic Encyclopaedia - Robert Appleton Co., N. Y., 1910, Vol. IX, p. 676.
 2. The Ante-Nicene Fathers - A. Cleveland Coxe, editor - The Christian Literature Co., Buffalo, 1887, Vol. I, p. 414.

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"...Peter and Paul went westward and preach-
ed and formed the church in Rome. But after their
departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of
Peter, also transmitted to us in writing things
which Peter had preached." (2)

Clement of Alexandria (c 150-c 215), one of the most dis-
tinguished teachers in the catechetical school of that city
after c 190 A. D. relying upon the authority of "the elder pres-

1. Mackay, J. - "The Gospel of St. Mark" - art. in The
Catholic Encyclopedia - Robert Appleton Co., N. Y., 1910,
Vol. IX, p. 676.
2. The Ante-Nicene Fathers - A. Cleveland Cox, editor - The
Christian Literature Co., Buffalo, 1897, Vol. I, p. 414.

byters" gives us a much fuller account of the tradition than has heretofore appeared. His contribution is contained in two statements quoted from "The Book Of The Hypotyposes", of which he was the author, by Eusebius (H. E. VI. xiv. 6, 7 and II. 15). The one reads:

"The Gospel according to Mark had this occasion. As Peter had preached the word publicly at Rome, and declared the Gospel of the Spirit, many who were present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And having composed the Gospel he gave it to those who had requested it. When Peter learned of this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it." (1)

The other quotation, in which a more important place is accorded the Apostle reads:

"And such a ray of godliness shone forth upon the minds of Peter's hearers, that they were not satisfied with the once hearing or with the unwritten teaching of the divine proclamation, but with all manner of entreaties importuned Mark, to whom the Gospel is ascribed, he being the companion of Peter, that he would leave in writing a record of the teaching which had been delivered to them verbally, and did not let the man alone until they prevailed upon him; and so to them we owe the Scripture called the 'Gospel of Mark.' On learning what had been done, through the revelation of the Spirit, it is said that the Apostle was delighted with the enthusiasm of the men, and sanctioned the composition for reading in the churches." (2)

Clement was followed by Tertullian (c 160-c 230) the pioneer Latin theologian who in his discourse "Against Marcion" (IV. 5) spoke of the authority of the four Gospels, two by Apostles, and

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1. The Ante-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. II, p. 580.
 2. The Ante-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. II, p. 579.

two by companions of Apostles. He felt that "that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's whose interpreter Mark was."⁽¹⁾

Origen, (c 185-c 254) who revived the catechetical school at Alexandria and distinguished himself as teacher and writer, makes a reference to Peter's mention of Mark, as though to strengthen the tradition. Eusebius (H. E. VI. 25) quotes from his "Commentary On Matthew" as follows:

"The second (Gospel) is by Mark, who composed it according to the instructions of Peter, who in his Catholic epistle acknowledges him as a son, saying, 'The Church that is at Babylon (Rome) elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth Marcus, my son'" (I Peter 5:13). (2)

Eusebius (c 260-c 340), bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, father of church history, and one of the most voluminous writers of antiquity, besides giving us many pertinent quotations from older writers himself says in his "Demonstratio Evangelica" (III. 5):

"Though Peter did not undertake, through excess of diffidence, to write a Gospel, yet it had all along been currently reported, that Mark, who had become his familiar acquaintance and attendant made memoirs of the discourses of Peter concerning the doings of Jesus." "Mark indeed writes this, but it is Peter who so testifies about himself, for all that is in Mark are memoirs (or records) of the discourses of Peter." (3)

Again, the tradition is put forth when Epiphanius of

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1. The Ante-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. IV, p. 350.
 2. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. I, p. 273.
 3. Farmer, J. H. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 1990.

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1. The Ante-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. IV. p. 350.
2. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. I. p. 272.
3. Turner, J. H. - op. cit. - Vol. III. p. 1980.

Constantia (c 310-403), bishop of that city and metropolitan of Cyprus, in his writing "Against All Heresies" (41) says:

"But immediately after Matthew, Mark, having become a follower of the holy Peter in Rome, is entrusted with the putting forth of a gospel. Having completed his work he was sent by the holy Peter into the country of the Egyptians." (1)

As our final reference for patristic statement we turn to the famous ecclesiastical writer commonly known as Jerome (c 340-420). In his "Lives Of Illustrious Men" (viii) he writes:

"Mark the disciple and interpreter of Peter wrote a short gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome embodying what he had heard Peter tell. When Peter had heard this he approved it and published it to the churches to be read by his authority as Clemens in the sixth book of his Hypotyposes, and Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, record." (2)

Also (xi):

"Accordingly he had Titus as interpreter just as the blessed Peter had Mark whose Gospel was composed, Peter narrating and Mark writing." (3)

The above names represent the churches of the second, third, and fourth centuries, and practically every portion of the Roman world. If then, a consistent and widespread early opinion is to count for anything, Mark wrote a Gospel and in it gave us mainly the teaching of Peter. Attempts have been made to destroy the force of the tradition by suggesting that all

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1. Farmer, J. H. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 1990).
 2. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 361.
 3. Farmer, J. H. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 1990.

Constantine (c 330-403), Bishop of that city and metropolitan of

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"But immediately after Matthew, Mark, having become a follower of the holy Peter in Rome, is entrusted with the putting forth of a Gospel. Having completed his work he was sent by the holy Peter into the company of the 'Hypocrites'." (1)

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1. Farmer, J. H. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 1990.
2. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 381.
3. Farmer, J. H. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 1990.

subsequent authorities simply quoted Papias, that one himself having been deceived. It is highly improbable that Papias could have been deceived on this question since he had spoken with many of the disciples of the Apostles and therefore would have been familiar with any contrary tradition. Furthermore, the fact that Irenaeus seems to place the date of composition after the death of Peter, while Origen and others represent the Apostle as approving and even dictating it, seems to indicate that all were not following the same branch of the tradition nor drawing from the same source. Again, Clement of Alexandria mentions as his source, not any single authority, but "the elders from the beginning" (Eusebius, H. E. VI. 14).

In the New Testament itself, Mark's association with Peter is quite subordinate. It is suggested in the notice of Mary his mother and Peter's reception in her home following his deliverance from prison (Acts 12:12). It is also implied in I Peter 5:13 where he is spoken of as Peter's "son" which Salmond translates "convert." In addition to the application of this familiar term, Mark is represented as being with the Apostle at Rome. But that is all. In the non-canonical literature the relationship is quite different. There Mark's association with Paul, which is so prominent in the New Testament, drops out of sight and Mark is with certainty called the companion of Peter.

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Origen, expressly quotes the passage from I Peter in this connection, while others call Mark the follower, disciple, or interpreter of Peter. Of these names "disciple" is self explanatory. "Follower" is its equivalent and does not mean simply a traveling companion. "Interpreter" is less clear and the exact significance of the Greek word "ἑρμηνευτής" as here used has been much disputed. By not a few it has been taken to mean that Mark acted as a translator or dragoman, "rendering Peter's Aramaic discourses into Greek for the Hellenistic Christians in Jerusalem (Adeney, et. al.), or Peter's Greek discourses into Latin for the Christians in Rome (Swete, et. al.)⁽¹⁾." It may be that Peter found it advantageous to have as a traveling companion some one more familiar than himself with the language of the people among whom he worked to assist him in giving them his message. For what language he needed an interpreter we cannot say, opinion being divided between Latin and Greek. If we think of the work at Rome it is easy to conclude that the former is meant. It may be, however, that Greek or both languages were meant, for Peter may not have been familiar enough with either to preach in them with ease.

The term is better taken, however, to mean that Mark performed the work of an amanuensis, committing to writing, with more or less freedom in composition, the oral teachings of Peter. This seems to be the view taken by the ancients as well as by most modern scholars. The patristic testimony may well

1. Farmer, J. H. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 1990.

be summed up in the title of the work as found in our earliest manuscripts, viz. "According to Mark." This phrase clearly refers to the actual writer of the Gospel, not to his source of information, in which case we would find it recorded as "According to Peter."

There is no clear record, either canonical or extra-canonical, that Mark himself was either a disciple of Jesus or an eyewitness of what he records. Papias, indeed, seems to indicate quite definitely that he was neither. The statement may, however, mean simply that Mark was not a personal disciple of Jesus, not that he had never seen him at all.

It is impossible to overlook the tendency as time goes on to make Peter play a continually larger and more responsible part in the composition of the Gospel, until in Eusebius it is described as authorized by the Apostle to be read in the Churches, and in Jerome it is said that Peter not only authorized and sanctioned the Gospel, but that he actually dictated it. It can be said with a good deal of assurance that the tradition is consistent all through in referring the authorship in one sense to Peter and in another to Mark. The general view thus given us of the Gospel is that it is a composition embodying Peter's recollections of the words and deeds of Christ, written by Mark, from his notes or remembrance of the Apostle's discourses, giving the substance of those discourses exactly as he had heard them. This tradition is so ancient, so wide-

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spread, so continuous, and so consistent in its main affirmations, that "only internal considerations of exceptional weight could justify its rejection."⁽¹⁾

in our country? There has been a sharply divided opinion. The majority of those who have investigated the question have found reasons for disbelieving the Gospel referred to by the Fathers from our Mark, which incidentally corresponds closely to the work described by Papias. He then found other sources (e.g., Justin Martyr, Dialogue p. 117, etc.) who say that our Gospel was in existence before the middle of the second century. There is, therefore, no good reason to suppose that Papias was thinking of any other Gospel when he spoke of the Gospel written by Mark as the interpreter of Peter. It is not to be supposed, however, that this is necessarily infallible proof that it was actually our Gospel which Mark wrote. The question of whether or not Mark ever wrote a Gospel which afterwards formed the basis of our present Gospel, or was one of the sources of the Synoptic tradition, must here be left open. What we may say at this point in the discussion is that "Papias certainly mentioned the tradition which he gives to be our Gospel of Mark."

Some indeed have understood the Papias passage to mean that Mark wrote no literary work, but simply left a string of

1. Salmond, S. D. F. - "Gospel of Mark" - art. in Hastings Bible Dictionary - Scribner's, N. Y., 1900, Vol. III,

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Chapter II

The Canonical Mark And The Tradition

The relation of the Gospel of Mark of the early tradition to our canonical Mark has been a sharply disputed point. The majority of those who have investigated the question find no good reason for distinguishing the Gospel referred to by the Fathers from our Mark, which incidentally corresponds excellently to the work described by Papias. We know from other sources (e.g. Justin Martyr, Dialogue c. Trypho, civ) that in any case our Second Gospel was in existence before the middle of the second century. There is, therefore, no good reason to suppose that Papias was thinking of any other Gospel when he spoke of the Gospel written by Mark as the interpreter of Peter. It is not to be supposed, however, that this is necessarily infallible proof that it was actually our Second Gospel which Mark wrote. The question of whether or not Mark may have written a Gospel which afterward formed the basis of our present Gospel, or was one of the sources of the Synoptic tradition must here be left open. What we may say at this point in our discussion is that "Papias certainly understood the tradition which (1) he gives to be our Gospel of Mark."

Some indeed have understood the Papias passage to mean that Mark wrote no literary work, but simply left a string of notes on Peter's discourses that were connected only in the

1. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. I, p. 172, n. 23.

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1. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. I, p. 178, n. 23.

loosest fashion. These maintain that the application of the patristic tradition to our Mark, although clearly intended by Papias, is impossible. This point of view has been quite widely held. For "this Gospel is in 'order,' and indeed - if it is thought that the original Greek word of Papias should be translated 'correct order' - is the most correct of all the Gospels in its chronological arrangement."⁽¹⁾ But from whomsoever the expression "not in order" proceeds, whether from Papias or his informant, we may feel sure that the considerations such as appeal to present day scholars because of their training in historical criticism are not those which suggested it, but rather the want of agreement between the Gospel and some external standard which on altogether different grounds was applied to it. The words "though not in order" which have created so much controversy seem to refer chiefly to a lack of chronological arrangement, perhaps to a lack of logical arrangement as well. The implication is that Mark set down whatever he remembered of the words and deeds of Christ without regard to order of any kind. Lightfoot and most other modern critics have supposed that this accusation of a lack of "order" implies the existence of another written Gospel, exhibiting a different order, with which Papias compares it (e.g. with the Gospel of Matthew as Weiss, Bleck, Holtzmann, and others think; or with John as Lightfoot, Zahn, Renan, and others hold). This con-

1. Von Soden, Hermann - The History Of Early Christian Literature, Putnam's, N. Y., 1909, p. 149.

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 suggested. The History of Early Christian Literature,
 Vol. I, p. 129, n. 1, 1909, p. 129.

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The statement itself is not altogether inconsistent with the kind and measure of arrangement which can be traced in our Gospel. For "Mark comes short at any rate of recording things in each case in the succession in which they actually took place and attempts no literary form."⁽²⁾

On all that concerns its origin the Gospel itself is absolutely silent. The author does not obtrude himself. There is no descriptive statement such as is found in the first paragraph of the Third Gospel. The name of the writer is nowhere given or indicated. Our judgment of the authorship rests then entirely upon tradition and the confirmation of internal evidence.

"The internal evidence strongly confirms the view that our present Gospel is the work referred to by Papias."⁽³⁾ Tradition represents the Gospel as having been written primarily for Roman Christians, and the internal evidence, although it may not prove the truth of this view, is altogether in accord with it. The writer seems to take for granted that the language and customs of the Jews were unknown to at least some of those for whom he wrote. Hence terms like Boanerges (3:17), Corban

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1. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. 1, p. 173
 2. Salmond, S. D. F. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 257.
 3. MacRory, J. - op. cit. - Vol. IX, p. 676.

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1. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. I, p. IX.
2. Salmon, S. D. W. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 287.
3. MacHarty, J. - op. cit. - Vol. IX, p. 276.

(7:11), and Ephphatha (7:34) are interpreted; Jewish customs such as ceremonial cleansing (7:3,4) and the feast of unleavened bread are explained to illustrate the narrative; the relative positions of the Temple and The Mount of Olives are pointed out (13:3); the genealogy with its interest in Davidic descent is omitted; and the Old Testament is quoted only once (1:2-3; the reference in 15:28 is omitted by B, Aleph, A, C, D, X). Further evidence of Roman readers is shown in that Pilate and his office are supposed to be known (15:1); in that other coins are reduced to their value in Roman money (12:42); in that Simon of Cyrene is said to be the father of Alexander and Rufus (15:21), a fact of no importance in itself, but mentioned probably because Rufus was known to the Christian community in Rome (Romans 16:13); and finally in that Latinisms, or uses of vulgar Greek, such as must have been peculiarly common in a cosmopolitan city like Rome, occur more frequently than in the other Gospels (5:9, 15; 6:37; 15:39, 44; etc.).

It also fits in with the tradition that the Gospel was based upon the preaching of Peter. In Peter's address to Cornelius in the Book of Acts (10:37-41) we learn the scope of his preaching. It dealt chiefly, according to his own description, with the public life, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ. So our present Gospel of Mark confines itself to the same limits. It omits all reference to the birth and private life of Jesus, such as is found in the opening chapters of the other Synoptic Gospels, and starting with the preaching of the Baptist it ends

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with Christ's Resurrection and Ascension.

Other considerations such as the graphic and vivid details peculiar to our Second Gospel, its minute notes in regard to persons, places, times, and numbers point to an eye-witness, such as Peter, as the writer's source of information. Thus we are told how Jesus took Peter's mother-in-law by the hand and raised her up (1:31), how with anger he looked round about on his critics (3:5), how he took little children into his arms and blessed them and laid his hands upon them (9:35, 10:16), how Jesus commanded that the multitude sit down upon the green grass, and how they sat down in companies, in hundreds and in fifties (6:39-40). We are told how James and John left their father in the boat with the hired servants (1:20), how they came into the home of Simon and Andrew, with James and John (1:29), how the blind man at Jericho was the son of Timaeus (10:46), how Simon of Cyrene was the father of Rufus and Alexander (15:21). As regards place we read how there was no room about the door of the house where Jesus was (2:2), how Jesus sat in the sea and all the multitude was by the sea on the land (4:1), how Jesus was in the stern of the boat asleep on the pillow (4:38). As regards time we read how on the evening of the Sabbath, when the sun had set, the sick were brought to be cured (1:32), how in the morning, long before day, Christ rose up (1:35), how he was crucified at the third hour (15:25), how the women came to the tomb very early, when the sun had risen (16:2). As regards numbers we read how the paralytic was

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land (4:1), how Jesus was in the stern of the boat asleep on the

pillow (4:38). As regards time we read how on the evening of

the Sabbath, when the sun had set, the sick were brought to be

cured (1:32), how in the morning, long before day, Christ rose

up (1:35), how he was crucified at the third hour (15:25), how

the women came to the tomb very early, when the sun had risen

(16:2). As regards numbers we read how the paralytic was

carried by four (2:3), how the swine were about two thousand in number (5:13), how Christ began to send forth the Apostles, two and two (6:7). "Nowhere in the Gospels do we stand so near to the eye-witness of Jesus' healings as in the two stylistically connected incidents, peculiar to this gospel (7:31-37 and 8:22-26). The sign-language of Jesus to the deaf and dumb man interprets his thought as if he stood before us. The blind man's description of his returning sight is inimitable.⁽¹⁾" The mass of detailed information of which the above instances form only a small part, indicate that the writer's information, to a large extent at least, must have come from an eye-witness.

Again when we consider that incidents connected with Peter, such as the cure of his mother-in-law and his three denials, are told with minute details in this Gospel; that the accounts of the raising of Jairus' daughter, the Transfiguration, and the Agony in the Garden, three occasions upon which only Peter, James, and John were present, show special signs of first-hand knowledge such as one might expect to find in the work of a disciple of Peter;⁽²⁾ and finally, that though the Second Gospel records Peter's three denials with special fulness, no mention is made of those incidents in his career wherein he plays a notable and commendable part, we are led to the conclusion that

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1. Bacon, B. W. - An Introduction To The New Testament - Macmillan, N. Y., 1907, p. 206.
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the eye-witness to whom Mark was indebted was Peter himself, and that our Second Gospel is, like Mark's work referred to by Papias, based upon information received from the Apostle.

As already implied the omission of the three striking incidents in Peter's career narrated in Matthew, namely, his walking on the water (Matt. 14:28-33), the incident of the temple tax (Matt. 17:24-27), and Jesus' commendation of him after his confession (Matt. 16:17-19), does not militate against the Petrine tradition but rather supports it. The silence of this Gospel on matters honorable to Peter has been commented upon from the time of Eusebius (Dem. Evang. iii. 5) onwards, and explanations for most of these cases of suppression have been suggested. The best one seems to be that Peter in his sermons, which Mark heard, tended to keep himself in the background except on those occasions when his own failings made him the central figure. Wherever Peter stands out in this Gospel as an individual it is to receive a rebuke. This is in full accord with the whole tenor of the Gospel for in it "the weaknesses of the Apostles are far more apparent than in the parallel narratives of Matthew and Luke, this being probably due to the graphic and candid discourses of Peter, upon which tradition
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Although these disturbing silences do exist, they are more than balanced by the reports of incidents which would come most naturally from Peter and by those suggestive occasions upon

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which Peter is introduced in this Gospel, and only in this one. It is Mark alone who records, e.g., that "Simon and they that were with him followed after" Jesus when he had gone out into a solitary place at the beginning of his ministry, (1:36); that it was Peter who called the attention of Jesus to the withered fig tree (11:21); that with his brother and the sons of Zebedee he questioned Jesus about the destruction of the Temple (13:3).

"Nor can it be allowed that the occurrence of certain repetitions (such as are alleged, e.g., in 6:14, 8:28; 4:37-41, 6:47-51), or the omission of some particulars bearing specially on Peter (e.g., the want of the word 'bitterly,' which is given by Matthew and Luke in their accounts of his repentance, and the fact that he is not named as one of the two sent to prepare for the Supper)⁽¹⁾, are of much weight." Most of the arguments advanced to support this attack upon the Petrine origin of Mark's information are highly arbitrary and hypothetical. There is no good reason, for example, why the fact that this Gospel gives the two distinct narratives of the miraculous feedings should be turned into an argument against its having derived its matter from an eye-witness, yet this has been done.

On the other hand, the lifelike character of the narrative, its vividness and circumstantiality, and the peculiar fulness and certainty of knowledge which continually show themselves in minute details, tend to show that it is due, directly or indirectly, to an eye-witness. The differences between it and

1. Salmond, S. D. F. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 257.

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the apocryphal "Gospel According to Peter" in these and other respects is significant. There is much in it also to connect it with the Apostle. The great bulk of its narrative consists of things of which Peter might have personal and intimate knowledge. Peter's call, Peter's confession, and the message of the risen Lord to Peter, are high points in the story. There are many other touches in the narrative (e.g., 1:16-20; 1:29; 14:52,72;) which indicate that Peter was probably the primary source of information.

It has also been observed that a certain likeness exists between Peter and Mark in the matter of style. Peter's First Epistle has at certain points vividness similar to that which characterizes the Gospel, while his discourses as given in Acts show still more of that realistic portrayal which we find in Mark. It can be noticed, for example, that there is much of the same wealth of picturesque detail in the account of the healing of the cripple by Peter (Acts 3:1-11), a story which Peter himself might afterward tell.

It is true also that most of the Gospel matter looks as though it may have been transcribed, that is, put into the third person from the first person, perhaps from reminiscences such as those described by Papias. It also has the appearance of having been put together in a connected but rather unstudied manner. This is most clearly and continuously evident in the first great section of the Gospel - the narrative of the Galilean ministry. It is the case also with the short inter-

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These Petrine reminiscences will not, however, account for all that is in the Gospel. The difference which does exist between the two large divisions in style and proportion - the more compressed style of the narrative in the former as against the greater fulness and variety in the latter, the different treatment of discourse and the like, can scarcely be accounted for merely on the basis of a change in subject. They seem to point to the frequent use of other sources. There are some things which Mark himself probably added, such as the explanation of Jewish ceremonial washings (7:34); the comment upon Christ's statement concerning defilement - "This he said, making all meats clean" (7:19), and the incident of the young man who witnessed the arrest of Jesus (14:51-52). The long eschatological discourse of chapter 13 seems to demand a written source, especially for the explanation of the parenthetical "let him that readeth understand" (13:14). There are some sections, also, which are so distinct from the surrounding material, as to point to dependence upon other sources, perhaps written. The passage containing the incident of Herod and John the Baptist is one such section.

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As a whole, however, the internal evidence of the Gospel, seems to invalidate the argument that the original writing differed greatly in form and contents from the present Mark. It must be recognized, of course, that this is a general statement and that the possibilities of other and subordinate sources should be investigated. But it must also be admitted that the evidence, if it does not actually prove the traditional view, is altogether in accord with it and tends strongly to confirm it. "The phenomena of the Gospel, therefore, are not inconsistent with its Marco-Petrine origin. Of themselves they are quite insufficient to lead us to definite conclusions as to the authorship. But they are in harmony, on the whole, with the account of the composition of the second Gospel, which has
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Although this evidence does not amount to a proof of Petrine origin, it is not inconsistent with the representation of Mark as being specially indebted to Peter. "On the whole it seems safe to assume as a working theory of the origination of the Gospel that its main source is the teaching of St. Peter, which has supplied nearly the entire series of notes descriptive of the Galilean Ministry, and has largely influenced the remainder of the book. But allowance must probably be made especially in the last six chapters, for the use of other authorities, some perhaps documentary, which had been familiar

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I. Selmond, S. D. B. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 288.

(1)
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The Synoptic Relationship

A work which was described by contemporaries as a dialogue and interpreter of St. Peter and which was supposed to be a careful record of the teaching of the Apostle's disciples, might naturally be expected to have gained prompt and widespread acceptance among the early Christian communities, especially in Rome, which city was traditionally its place of origin. The statement of Irenaeus in a letter addressed to the Church of Lyons, about 180 A. D., contains an explicit reference to the Gospel, although it does not say which Gospel it was. It is, however, clear from the Synoptic record, the name of the author, the language of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Irenaeus and the fact that they are represented both as having seen St. Peter, Irenaeus, and perhaps Alexander, Bishop of Lyons, that the work was a valuable work, and that it was in use in the Church of Lyons. The reference in the Synoptic record to the Apostle's teaching in a writing record, (2)

(2)
in the next document mentioning the Church of Lyons, and one not be placed later than A. D. 180. While it may possibly belong to the first years of the second century, it is clearly to show the influence of the second Gospel. (3) Again the passage from Justin Martyr quoted above (Dial. c. 64, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 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(2)
to the Evangelist before he left the Holy City.

1. Swete, H. B. - The Gospel According to St. Mark - Macmillan,
London, 1923, p. lxxv.

Chapter III

The Synoptic Relationship

A work which was ascribed by contemporaries to a disciple and interpreter of St. Peter and which was supposed to be a careful record of reminiscences of the Apostle's teaching might naturally be expected to have gained prompt and widespread circulation among the early Christian communities, especially at Rome, which city was traditionally its place of writing. Yet Clement of Rome in a letter addressed to the Church at Corinth about 95 A. D. contains no certain reference to the Gospel, although it does quote sayings which bear a close resemblance to some in the Synoptic record. The same may be said of the writings of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas and yet these four writers represent both East and West - Rome, Smyrna, Antioch, and perhaps Alexandria. Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott, after considerable study, has gone so far as to say that "no Evangelic reference in the Apostolic Fathers can be referred certainly to a written record." (1) "On the other hand the 'Shepherd' which is the next document emanating from the Roman Church, and cannot be placed later than A. D. 156, while it may possibly belong to the first years of the second century, seems clearly to (2) show the influence of the second Gospel." Again the passage from Justin Martyr quoted above (Dial. c. Trypho, cvi, c 150 A. D.) which may echo the thought of both Rome and Palestine,

1. Westcott, B. F. - The Canon Of The New Testament - Macmillan, London, 1875, p. 62.

2. Swete, H. B. - op. cit. - p. xxx.

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1. Westcott, B. F. - The Canon Of The New Testament - Macmillan, London, 1875, p. 62.
2. Swete, H. B. - op. cit. - p. xxx.

clearly refers to the second Gospel and identifies it with the "memoirs of Peter."

The early circulation of this Gospel is also attested by its inclusion by the middle of the second century in the group of primary gospels. "The earliest order of the collection was probably just that familiar to us today: Matthew, Mark, Luke, (1) John." The only apparent reason for the inclusion of Mark is that in the belief of the post-Apostolic Church it was identified with the teachings of Peter. There was no appeal to any special interests of the Ancient Church nor any great amount of material in it that the other Gospels lacked, to warrant its choice - neither did it bear an Apostolic name like the First and Fourth Gospels. The connection of the writer with Peter seems to be the factor that saved this book from exclusion and perhaps from oblivion.

In spite of this early conviction that the Gospel of Mark was a genuine work of Peter's interpreter it received scant attention from the early theologians. The quotations which we find in the Apostolic Fathers are as a whole in closer agreement with the First Gospel than with Mark, and it is far from certain that these came from any written source. It is quite possible that the oral testimony of the elders surviving from the first century was preferred to written information. Yet it is hard to explain why Mark seems to have been the last of

1. Goodspeed, Edgar J. - The Formation Of The New Testament - Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927, p. 35.

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1. Goodspeed, Edgar J. - The Formation Of The New Testament - Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927, p. 38.

the Four Gospels to attract the attention of scholars even after its inclusion in every Greek codex of the Gospels and in every version of the New Testament. This neglect is plainly shown by the statement of the commentator commonly known as Victor of Antioch, a compiler whose date is certainly not earlier than the fifth century. He said that he "could not discover a single commentary on Mark, though he knew of many on Matthew and John, and a few on Luke.⁽¹⁾"

The causes for this neglect can probably be found in the preference accorded to the First Gospel which was regarded as the immediate work of an Apostle, and in the greater fulness of both Matthew and Luke. Moreover Mark was believed even by Iranaeus to have been written after Matthew (Against Heresies III. i. 1):

"Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church. After their departure, Mark, -----did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter." (2)

The relative importance of the Gospel in the judgment of the Ancient Church may be estimated from the position accorded it in the lists of the canonical books. In nearly all the Greek manuscripts and in the great majority of catalogues and ecclesiastical writers, it is in its familiar place between Matthew and Luke. Clement of Alexandria is alone in asserting that Luke

1. Bacon, B. W. - Gospel of Mark - p. 27.
2. The Ante Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. I, p. 414.

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1. Haeon, E. W. - Gospel of Mark - p. 27.
2. The Ante Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. I, p. 410.

wrote before Mark (Eus. H. E. VI. 14), and not a single ancient writer held that Mark wrote before Matthew.

It was an easy matter to pass from these estimates of the Gospel relative to its date and importance to the conclusion that it was merely an abridgement of Matthew or a combination of the Matthew and Luke material. This conclusion was aided by the fact that there is so very little in Mark that is not in either or both of the other two. This question of the relationship of the first three Gospels was first discussed by Augustine (354-430 A. D.) who defended the traditional order by making Mark dependent upon Matthew (The Harmony Of The Gospels I. ii. 3, 4.)

"Now those four evangelists whose names have gained the most remarkable circulation over the whole world, and whose number has been fixed at four-----are believed to have written in the order which follows: first Matthew, then Mark, thirdly Luke, lastly John. -----Mark follows him (Matthew) closely, and looks like his attendant and epitomizer." (1)

Although it is now generally conceded that Augustine mistook the relationship of Mark to Matthew it must be said that he did recognize at least some of the phenomena that create what is now called "The Synoptic Problem". This problem arises out of the fact that Matthew, Mark, and Luke are independent works, yet bear a close resemblance. In almost every paragraph the phenomena of close agreement and wide difference are found together. The problem is to frame a theory which will account

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for the relations between the first three Gospels, setting them in chronological order, tracing the sources from which they have been compiled, and explaining both the coincidences and the differences which they present. The term "Synoptic," derived from the Greek, was first applied by J. J. Griesbach to indicate that the three Gospels had a "common view."

A close comparison of the Synoptic Gospels will show that they cover much the same ground. They all give the same outline of the life of Jesus. There is frequent agreement in language as well as in facts. Incidents with no intrinsic connection are placed in the same sequence (e.g., the three narratives of the palsied man, the calling of the publican, and the discourse on fasting.) All three contain the parenthetical expression "Then saith he to the sick of the palsy" (Matt. 9:6; Mk. 2:10; Lk. 5:24). All have parallels of certain rare Greek words and phrases (e.g., "ἐπιούσιον" in the Lord's Prayer which we translate "daily"). In short about three-sevenths of all materials in the Gospels is common, that is, three-sevenths of the material in any one of them is reproduced by the other two. These facts would seem to indicate a large measure of interdependence or dependence upon a common source.

On the other hand, there are noticeable differences in the amount, distribution, and connection of their material. There are omissions (Mark has no infancy story); the same or similar words are used in different senses or with different references (Matt. 21:3 - Mk. 11:3); the same or similar words are assigned

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to different speakers (Matt. 27:49 - Mk. 15:36); what is direct speech in one becomes narrative in the other (Matt. 26:1 - Mk. 14:1 - Lk. 22:1); what is a question in one is a statement in another (Mk. 4:21 - Lk. 8:16); there are contradictions (Matt. 10:10 - Mk. 6:8 - Lk. 9:3); there are diverse applications of terms (Matt. 19:17 - Mk. 10:18); and there are inversions of order (the order of the temptations in Matthew and Luke).

Mark, however, has nothing corresponding to the first two chapters of Matthew and Luke, very little to represent most of the long discourses of Christ in Matthew, and perhaps nothing quite parallel to the long section in Luke 9:51 - 18:14. On the other hand he had very little that does not appear in either one or both of the other two Gospels. The amount of material peculiar to Mark, if it were all put together, would amount to less than sixty verses. In the arrangement of the common material the Synoptists differ greatly up to the point where Herod Antipas is said to have heard of the fame of Jesus (Matt. 13:38; Mk. 6:13; Lk. 9:6). From this point onward the order of events is practically the same in all three. There are a few notable exceptions. For instance, Matthew (21:10ff) seems to say that Jesus cleansed the temple on the day of his triumphal entry into Jerusalem and cursed the fig tree on the following day, while Mark (11) places both events on the following day, at the same time reversing their order. In the same section Matthew says that the effect of the curse and the disciples' astonishment thereat followed immediately, but Mark

says that it was only on the following day that they saw that the tree was withered. Thus we have, on the one hand, such striking coincidences that it is impossible to believe that the accounts are wholly independent, and on the other, strange and frequently recurring divergences that make that relationship obscure. "Let any passage common to the three Synoptists be put to the test. The phenomena presented will be much as follows: first, perhaps, we shall have three, five, or more words identical; then as many wholly distinct; then two clauses or more expressed in the same words, but differing in order; then a clause contained in one or two, and not in the third; then several words identical; then a clause or two not only wholly distinct, but apparently inconsistent; and so forth; with recurrences of the same arbitrary and anomalous alterations, coincidences, and transpositions."⁽¹⁾

Various theories have been advanced to explain these phenomena. One such is the "Inspiration Theory" which holds that three men were inspired by the Holy Spirit to write and that their stories were alike because they were written as one Spirit directed, and they were different that they might supplement each other. One attempt to explain the differences went as far as to claim that in the beginning all of the Gospels were alike and that the present divergences were due to intentional or careless changes made by copyists. Such theories are worthless

1. Alford, Henry - The Greek Testament - Lee & Shepherd, Boston, 1874, p. 5.

in the light of historical criticism. All that we can do is to admit that the men were inspired and that the Spirit was working, at the same time calling attention to the fact that it had to work through the minds of human beings.

A second attempt made to explain the phenomena was "Harmonizing." This was an endeavor to bring all the Gospels into unity by saying that in the case of conflicts the incidents must have taken place twice or more and been reported separately. This, however, while possibly bringing about a harmony of exact text could not bring about the greater harmony of fact and spirit.

The theory most widely held up until the eighteenth century was that of "Accretion," according to which Matthew wrote first and was followed by the others in the present order. They each confirmed the narrative of Matthew and added to it as new light was vouchsafed to them. Although widely held this theory has fallen before the rising Two-Document Theory.

Another theory is that of "Oral Tradition" according to which the teaching of the early church was by word of mouth out of which grew up a set body of tradition before it was written down. The Gospels were, by this theory, regarded as three different transcripts of the same oral tradition. Although willing to grant that there is some debt to oral tradition, modern scholars have rejected this theory on the ground that it is unnatural and highly improbable, especially since it would be difficult to account thus for the peculiar literary phenomena (e.g., the parenthesis in the story of the paralytic).

The "Primitive Gospel" theory was first proposed by Eichhorn and Lessing. According to this hypothesis there was an original written Aramaic account of the life and teaching of Jesus used in Palestine at an early date and this was translated into Greek by the evangelists with modifications and introduction of new material from other sources. This source is not identified with any present book of the Bible. If it is to be regarded as a great inclusive work which contained all of the material contained in the three Gospels, the question of omissions becomes very disturbing. If we are to judge this theory rightly we shall have to raise the question of differences and ask if there were three editions of the same primitive gospel and if there were how it is that we are so fortunate as to have one translation of each handed on to us without any record of them. The main question, however, concerns the cause of such an early and complete disappearance of so important a book.

Schleiermacher next put forth the "Fragment Theory." He thought that the Gospels were made up from bits of written material which were collected and artificially connected together. This written material was, apparently, made up of a large number of leaflets upon which a number of people had written their recollections of Jesus' acts and words. The use of such a floating body of literature would account very nicely for both the likes and unlikes of the three Gospels. The fault lies in the fact that the verbal agreement of the Gospels is

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too far-reaching and each one is too much of a whole to accept as its basis a shifting mass of single sheets and pamphlets.

Another theory is the "Primacy Theory," which is really that which Augustine held, according to which one Gospel was written first and all the rest were merely copies of it with variations. All possible variations of the chronological order have been given. The application of this theory to the Gospel of Mark will be discussed below.

F. C. Bauer worked out a "Supplementary or Tendency Theory" on the basis of the Hegelian principle of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. According to it there was a combination of two of the Gospels to form the third. Again there is no agreement as to which two made up the other. This theory, also, will be further discussed with particular attention to the Gospel of Mark.

By far the most widely accepted theory is the "Two Document Hypothesis." This is arrived at through a comparison of the material in all three Gospels and its separation into "The Triple, Double, and Single Traditions." The first is composed of all material which is found in triplicate passages in Matthew, Mark, and Luke. This comprises three-sevenths of all the material in those Gospels and comprises the body of narrative historical material. "Double Tradition" is the term applied to such additional material as is found in duplicate in any two of the Gospels. It appears in three combinations: Matthew with Mark, Matthew with Luke, and Mark with Luke. "Single

Tradition" is the name given to that material which is peculiar to each of the Gospels. It, too, has three forms - the Matthew, Mark, and Luke single traditions.

Following the division of the three Gospels into literary sections as given by Huck we may compile the following exhibit.

	Narrative Units	Discourse Units	Total Units
Triple Tradition	60	25	85
Double Tradition			
Matthew-Mark	9	5	14
Matthew-Luke	5	44	49
Mark-Luke	5	1	6
Single Tradition			
Matthew	7	20	27
Mark	2	1	3
Luke	26	18	44

From this exhibit we may draw certain inferences, namely, that three men writing independently of each other had common sources, both oral and written, and perhaps relied upon each as well. Also, we may conclude that some sources were either unknown to some of the writers or rejected by them. The next steps are the separation out of the common sources, the determination of the extent of their use by each of the writers, and the determination of the dependence of each writer upon the other.

To do this let us divide the Gospels into literary units as follows: Matthew 180, Mark 109, Luke 210.

Now of Matthew's 180 units, 100 are found in Mark,
And of Luke's 210 units, 90 are found in Mark.

1. Finney, R. L. - Huck's Synopsis Of The First Three Gospels - Eaton and Mains, N. Y., 1907.

Now if Mark used Matthew he omitted 80 units,
 And if he used Luke he omitted 120 units,
 And if he used both he omitted-----?

 But if Matthew used Mark he omitted only about 1/4 of his material.
 And if Luke used Mark he omitted about 1/2 of his material.
 But if they both used Mark they omitted only 35-53 verses.

 Again if the total Synoptic material be divided into 100 literary units,
 Mark has 7 peculiarities and 93 coincidences,
 Matthew has 42 peculiarities and 58 coincidences,
 Luke has 59 peculiarities and 41 coincidences.

 "Tried, again, by the test of characteristic words and phrases, defining these as words and phrases that occur at least three times in Mark, and not found at all in Matthew and Luke, or occur oftener in Mark than in Matthew and Luke together, Mark is seen to contain a comparatively small proportion of such - only some 37 in all; while in Matthew the number is about 140, and in Luke about 86."
 (1)

Therefore we may infer that Matthew and Luke used Mark since this gives us the smallest number of omissions. And since Mark has only seven peculiarities as against ninety-three coincidences it is evident that Mark stands nearest the complete Synoptic tradition.

But after we have set aside all material in the Triple Tradition we find that there is a large body of material, some 200 verses, which is common to Matthew and Luke. It has been suggested that this is evidence that one used the other but such a theory can hardly stand close scrutiny. "The reason

 1. Salmond, S. D. F. - op. cit. - Vol. III, p. 258.

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Mark has 7 peculiarities and 23 coincidences,
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for denying that Matthew copied from Luke is the impossibility, upon that hypothesis, of explaining the omissions of Lucan material, and the very great divergences between the two gospels where such divergences would not be expected with either one using the other as an exemplar. The same argument which refutes (1) Matthew's use of Luke refutes Luke's use of Matthew." It is also to be noted that the parallel verses in Matthew and Luke are, broadly speaking, of the same general character, - sayings of Jesus. In Matthew these sayings are nicely collected and edited, in Luke they are scattered. This indicates that both were separately dependent upon another written source in addition to Mark. "The hypothesis that Matthew and Luke made use of a single document (in addition to Mark) which has since disappeared, has secured, if not quite universal, at any rate (2) all but universal, assent from New Testament scholars." The German scholars gave this source the designation "Quelle" (German for "source") which name is now commonly reduced to its initial letter "Q." The disappearance of Q in its original form makes it impossible for us to check and verify its use by Matthew and Luke in the same way that is possible with Mark. The assumption of its existence does, however, explain facts that need explanation in a simpler and more satisfactory way than does any other suggestion.

The Two-Document Hypothesis assumes, then, that the marked

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1. Patton, C. S. - Sources Of The Synoptic Gospels - Macmillan, N. Y., 1915, p. 85.
 2. Streeter, B. H. - The Four Gospels - Macmillan, N. Y., 1925, p. 184.

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resemblances between the first three Gospels are due to the use of common documents, and that the fundamental documents are two in number: 1. a complete Gospel practically identical with our Mark, which was extensively used by the evangelists whom we know as Matthew and Luke; and 2. a collection consisting mainly but not entirely of discourses, which may have been known to, but was probably not systematically used by Mark, but which supplied the groundwork of certain common matter in Matthew and Luke. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility of such other sources as might have been available only to one of the writers or the likelihood of the use of oral tradition. The correct formulae for the Synoptic relationship seems to be:

Mark + Q + Xⁿ + oral material = Matthew.

Mark + Q + Yⁿ + oral material = Luke.

In judging the bearing of this hypothesis upon the present study "we are bound to conclude that Mark contains the whole of a document which Matthew and Luke have independently used, and further, that Mark contains very little else besides. This conclusion is extremely important; it is the one solid contribution made by the scholarship of the nineteenth century toward the solution of the Synoptic Problem.⁽¹⁾" It is reasonable then to believe that Mark became the basis for the Gospel of Matthew which was written at Antioch probably soon after 80 A. D., and was again used perhaps ten years later by Luke, probably at Ephesus.

1. Burkitt, F. C. - The Gospel History And Its Transmission - T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906 - p. 37.

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These conclusions, if anything, lend support to the Petrine tradition. By asserting the priority of Mark and the dependence of the other two Synoptics upon it, they automatically disbar the possibility of Mark depending upon the other two Gospels. Thus while it does nothing to prove the Petrine origin of the Second Gospel, it does nothing to deny it. Further, by asserting the priority of Mark it agrees with the Petrine tradition that this work was primary.

The arguments in support of Mark's priority and dependence have been based largely upon internal evidence and tradition. The argument is that of the priority of the Gospel of Mark, as it is found in the tradition of the Church, is supported by internal evidence and by the testimony of the Fathers. The internal evidence is that the Gospel of Mark is the shortest and simplest of the Synoptics, and that it contains many details which are not found in the other two. The external evidence is that the Fathers, from Irenaeus to Augustine, have all testified to the priority of Mark. The internal evidence is also supported by the fact that the Gospel of Mark is the only one of the Synoptics which is not written in Greek, but in Aramaic. This fact, if true, would support the claim that Mark was the first Gospel to be written, and that it was written in the language of the people of Galilee.

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Chapter IV

The Effect Of The Primacy Theory

As has been pointed out ancient tradition was not in favor of the priority of Mark but generally accepted Matthew as the first of the Gospels. Clement of Alexandria gives a clear wording to the tradition regarding the order of the books. He reports it, according to Eusebius (H. E. VI. 14), as "derived from the oldest presbyters," and as being to the effect that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written first.

Augustine was sure that Mark was posterior to and dependent upon Matthew. And many in modern times have held that Mark was later than Matthew at least, and some that it was later than both Matthew and Luke. Græsbach first propounded the hypothesis that the second Gospel was derived from the first and third, partly by combination, and in a larger measure by abridgement. In this he has been followed, with some modification, by Fritzsche, de Wette, Bauer, Bleck, Köstlin, and many others. In some cases, as in that of S. Davidson, Græsbach's view has been accepted with the additional supposition of a third written source called Ur-Marcus or Proto-Mark.

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ian Gospel. A third is founded on the evidence of the quotations used by early Christian writers, the attempt being made, with doubtful success, to show that the citations of Scripture, particularly in writings such as the Gospel According to the Hebrews, presuppose knowledge of Matthew and Luke, but not of Mark. But the main arguments have grown out of an analysis of the Gospel itself. It has been held that it is highly improbable that a Gospel which contained so little of the Lord's sayings should be the earliest. This improbability has been thought to be confirmed by an examination of the text of Mark, which is held to have discovered evidences of dependence, condensation, and alteration. Supposed cases of incompleteness, incongruity, and obscurity have been sorted out and explained. The explanations usually have to do with Mark's haste, inattention, and lack of discernment in drawing from Matthew and Luke. This is rather strange reasoning unless we seriously question Mark's intellectual ability for such incongruities tend to disappear when a writer has the advantage of consulting and comparing previous authorities.

Most of the instances selected furnish only dubious evidence and support. For instance, those peculiarly graphic descriptions which are usually held to indicate Mark's originality, are in many cases (e.g., 5:1-17; 7:24; etc.) given strange interpretations. They are held to be due to pragmatism, design, and reflectiveness, - things which would grow out of dependence and comparative lateness. For reasons that

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are hard to understand the historical and geographical explanations in some passages (e.g., 2:26; 7:26; 8:10; etc.) instead of being regarded as notes made by one who had the story at an early period when such details were fresh in mind are thought to be sort of explanatory notes added by a compiler. On this basis it is maintained that the secondary nature of Mark is obvious. S. Davidson in his "Introduction To The New Testament" even goes so far as to call these notes "unimportant, prosaic, unsuitable, and trifling."

Until the time of Lachmann who first formulated the theory of the priority of Mark about 1835 "the prevailing opinion had been that St. Matthew's Gospel was the earliest, or at least that it offered the most primitive arrangement. The priority of Matthew was upheld by critics of such different opinions as St. Augustine and Ferdinand Christian Bauer, the founder of the Tübingen School."⁽¹⁾ Even after the theory of Mark's priority was put forth there were those who still held that the vast amount of similarity was due not to Matthew and Luke incorporating Mark, but to Mark's combination of the other two. Thus we find de Wette in a discussion of Mark saying: "Seldom holding an independent position between the other two, he follows the one or the other, and forms the middle member of the three-fold accord. He has often, also, a text which seems woven out of the other two."⁽²⁾ From this observation he

1. Burkitt, F. C. - op. cit. - p. 38.

2. De Wette, W. M. L. - Introduction To The Canonical Books Of The New Testament - Crosby, Nichols, & Co., Boston, 1858 - p. 132.

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draws the following conclusion: "From the manner in which Mark stands between Matthew and Luke, combines their text, and has little of his own, we may conclude that he is dependent upon
(1)
both of them."

Opinion is now almost universally in agreement with Lachmann's theory. The independence and priority of Mark is now accepted by some (e.g., Ritschl) who originally held the other view. Scholars of different tendencies (e.g., Weiss, Wilke, Ewald, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, Meyer, and most English authorities) have been led to agree that Mark is the most primitive of all the Gospels and that our second Gospel, or a source substantially like it, forms the basis of the First and Third Gospels.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, there are many considerations, some of them of great force, which support this conclusion. "The peculiar freshness and realism of the second Gospel, the vividness of its descriptions, its liveliness even in dialogue, its precision and circumstantiality in its notices of time, place, custom, situation, and the like, and the simple objectivity of its narrative, are not consistent with the idea that it is the labored work of an epitomizer (as Augustine supposed), or of a compiler who produces his composition by selecting, curtailings, and combining. These are
(2)
characteristics which speak of originality and priority."

Again it is not easy to understand why Mark or any other writer should set for himself the task of constructing out of

1. De Wette, W. M. L. - op. cit. - p. 163.

2. Salmond, S. D. F. - op. cit. Vol. III, p. 259.

two longer Gospels, neither of which was of very great length, a smaller Gospel which followed much the same plan as the other two, and which offered very little new material by which to justify itself.

There is another puzzling consideration. If Mark wrote with Matthew and Luke before him, the use he made of them is strange indeed. An epitomizer or abstracter is by the very nature of his work supposed to cultivate brevity. But Mark does not always do that. In some instances where he reports incidents that appear in Matthew and Luke, he gives them those enrichments which frequently make his narrative fuller. Sometimes, also, we would be forced to suppose that he chose the longer version of Luke in preference to the shorter one in Matthew. But strangest of all and hardest to explain would be his omissions. There is no apparent reason why he should omit such passages as Matthew 9:27-31 and 12:22 in which cures are reported, or Matthew 14:28-32 and 17:24-27 in which Peter is mentioned, and so much of the richest material of Luke, while taking over shorter and less significant passages. The cure of the centurion's servant (Matt. 8:5-13), for example, is omitted and yet by reason of its relation to a Roman officer it should have been of special interest to the Roman readers for whom Mark apparently wrote.

It is noticeable also that Mark preserves his distinctive character all through, and does not owe anything that is peculiar to either Matthew or Luke. Nor do those passages

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It is noticeable also that Mark preserves his distinctive character all through, and does not owe anything that is peculiar to either Matthew or Luke. For to these passages

wherein Mark is supposed to show his dependence most clearly stand the test of close examination. Much is made, e.g., of Mark's tendency to adopt at various points a full narration and a two-fold method of expression. This is held to be evidence that he borrowed now from one now from the other. But it is found that this literary style is not limited to only those passages which might be regarded as abstracts, but that it is generally characteristic of Mark.

Yet in spite of these faults this view, prevailed until the beginning of the last century, when the problem of Synoptic relationship was attacked anew, and since which it has been the crux of Biblical criticism. As soon, however, as the serious study of the Synoptic Problem was begun, it was seen that the view just discussed was inadequate to explain the facts. The relative priority of Mark is now an axiom among New Testament scholars. This change of position is due to the change in method of study. "From Augustine to Bauer, and indeed often at the present day, attempts have been made to determine the relation of the Synoptic Gospels to one another by beginning with historical and dogmatic considerations; Lachmann, as you see, treated it mainly as a question of literary criticism."⁽¹⁾ It was a century of investigation along this line that has brought the Gospel according to Mark into a generally acknowledged position of priority as a historical source. This position has been accorded almost entirely by internal consider-

1. Burkitt, F. C. - op. cit. - p. 28.

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tists; by comparing the common narratives as wholes and in
detail; and by estimating the nature and significance of the
peculiar characteristics of each of the three. External evi-
dence, the testimony of ancient writers has been too scant and
too faulty, to yield any great assistance.

Further arguments for the priority of Mark can be drawn
from his language and his religious attitude. His style and
language is the least polished. Revision usually brings
polish and not crudity. Yet the parallel passages as they
appear in Matthew and Luke are far superior in language, gram-
mar, and style. This would make it appear that Mark came first
and was copied with revisions and corrections by the others.
From the point of view of religion Mark stresses the human side
of Jesus far more than do the others. This would be normal
only if Mark were the earliest Gospel for the natural order
would be for the earliest to stress the humanity of Jesus and
for the later ones to tend more and more toward the reverential
and worshipful attitude.

This result is easy to verify in its main outlines by
anyone who will compare the common material of Matthew, Mark,
and Luke. "It is possible to explain all, or almost all, the
features of the Gospel narrative as we read it in Matthew and
Luke on the supposition that it is based upon Mark, impossible
to explain Mark on the supposition that it is based on a
document similar to Matthew or Luke. The common order of the

anecdotes is Mark's order: where Matthew deserts Mark's order, Mark is supported by Luke, where Luke deserts Mark's order, Mark is supported by Matthew. Matthew and Luke never disagree⁽¹⁾ in order against Mark."

This theory of the dependence of Mark upon one or both of the other Synoptic Gospels was a serious attack upon the Petrine tradition, especially since it was so widely and so continuously held. It automatically and completely denied the Petrine origin of any of Mark's material by denying him any originality and making him merely an abstracter of the works of others. Such a theory leaves no room for Peter and his sermons from which, early tradition tells us, Mark compiled his Gospel. It was a complete denial of such an origin inasmuch as it argued for another that was totally different. With the break-down of this theory by the restoration of Mark to a place of priority and originality, however, the Petrine tradition escaped the denial which had long been its portion. Thus the tradition again stands as possibly true since the refutation of the Primacy Theory that would have denied it, does not have any positive power to support it.

1. Burkitt, F. C. - The Earliest Sources For The Life Of Jesus - Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1910 - p. 31.

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1. Berritt, E. C. - The Earliest Sources for The Life of Jesus
 Philadelphia Press, 1910 - p. 21.

Chapter V

The Ur-Marcus Theory

A question quite naturally arose as to whether or not the canonical Gospel of Mark was the original Gospel of Mark upon which the other Synoptists drew for material. Most scholars say that Matthew and Luke drew from Mark as a common source or from something similar to it. That last phrase "something similar to it" is the whole basis of the Ur-Marcus theory. This theory holds that Mark as well as the others copied from an earlier document. Accordingly no one of the three evangelists would be dependent upon any of the others. Rather all three have used freely an earlier source which corresponded most closely to the Second Gospel and contained both narrative and discourse. Thus the common origin of the Gospels, a documentary source, is thought to account for their likenesses, and editorial freedom is said to account for their differences.

"The number of instances in which Matthew and Luke agree in their changes of Mark has given rise to this idea. Naturally a small number of such changes might be passed over as merely accidental and a certain number more might be assigned to assimilation. But if the agreements of Matthew and Luke in their corrections of Mark are so numerous and so striking as to be quite beyond accounting for in these ways, the assumption would be justified that Matthew and Luke used, not our copy of Mark but one in which the text ran as it now does in those passages

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There are a few indications that we do not have the Gospel of Mark in its original form. The conclusion, for instance, is missing. This, however, throws no light on the existence of an Ur-Marcus, since to all appearances the conclusion was also missing from the Mark used by Matthew and Luke.

It has been suggested that the omissions by Matthew and Luke of material found in Mark would be explicable if the document which they used did not contain the omitted items and that it was an earlier form of Mark, an Ur-Marcus, of which our Mark is an expanded form. Again, if this text differed slightly from that of Mark the same theory would account for the minor agreements of Matthew and Luke.

Some have held this theory on the ground that such an earlier form of Mark would answer to the description of the Marcan work given by Papias. It is asserted that our present Gospel cannot be the document which he describes but is rather the composition of some later and unknown writer, who worked up into order and arrangement the unconnected notes which Papias seems to say that the Evangelist prepared. Mark's own words, it is held, cannot have been anything like a "Gospel" in the sense now understood, but something like a notebook in which Mark wrote down sayings, narratives, and teachings of the Apostle Peter. Some (e.g., Wendt) have thought that Papias referred to what was really only a series of narratives, which

 1. Patton, C. S. - op. cit. - p. 72.

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1. Patten, E. S. - op. cit. - p. 72.

are now embodied in our present Mark, but which can be accurately separated from it. It is urged, for example, that a series of older narratives is presupposed in the account of the replies of Jesus to objections and questions given in the two groups, Mark 2:1 - 3:6 and 12:13 -37, and in 12:12 we have the narrative of 3:6 continued. This is perhaps the strongest case, but of itself it is insufficient to prove the existence of an Ur-Marcus.

Two fairly recent attempts have been made to resolve our Gospel of Mark into its component parts. Both are relatively successful. One is by Von Soden the other by Wendling.

Von Soden distinguishes in Mark two strands of narrative which he separates from each other by content and style, the differences in which, he maintains, indicate two different authors. As the clearest example of the earlier strand, he takes Mark 2:1-3:6 and contrasts it with 4:35-5:43. In the first, all the interest seems to be in the words of Jesus; in the second, in the events themselves. He suggests a comparison of the Gadarene demoniac which has twenty verses with the important and significant debate on fasting which occupies only five verses. He also points out that Mark 7:32-37 and 8:22-26 are quite distinct in character from such stories as those in 2:1-12 and 3:1-6. In the former passages the miracles themselves are the main subject while in the latter they are merely incidental to the story, whose real subject is forgiveness of sins and Jesus' violation of Sabbath laws.

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Following this process he arrives at the separation of the material into its two strands, one of which he assigns to Peter (or the Petrine tradition). "The result presents the Petrine nucleus of the Gospel as follows: John the Baptist and the Baptism of Jesus; a Sabbath in Capernaum; the offense of the Jews at Jesus' forgiving of sins, his association with sinners, his breaking of the Sabbath, and the fact that his disciples do not fast; how the Jews attempt to take him; how Jesus meets the general misunderstanding; parables about the kingdom of God; the question as to who shall enter that kingdom; the development of the apostolic circle; glimpses into the future. (1) This makes a remarkably straightforward and connected narrative!" With these sections Von Soden contrasts the remaining parts of the Gospel, in which he finds many interruptions of the primary narrative, much interpretation, allegorizing, absence of actual situations, reminiscence of Old Testament stories, influence of Paul, and reflections of the experience of the early Christian Church.

Wendling's theory, usually called "The Three-Stratum Theory," is far more thoroughgoing and complicated. The basis of it is the fourth chapter of Mark, in which he considers the two-strands most easily separated. He assigns 4:1-9 and 26-33 to the original and 10-25 to a later, mechanical insertion. He claims that this latter passage has no organic connection with the rest of the chapter and even contradicts its situation.

1. Patton, C. S. - op. cit. p. 75.

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In the first section (vss. 1-9) Jesus is teaching from a boat (other boats being with his); then suddenly in the second section (vss. 10-25) he is alone with his disciples discussing the parable of the Sower; then in the final section (vss. 26-41) and again without any indication of change of situation he is in the boat surrounded by other boats, with the multitude still present on the shore. Beside the interruption of the narrative Wendling feels that this passage contains theories which are contrary to those of the writer of the larger part of the Gospel. In other places, Jesus speaks to all the people in parables "as they were able to hear him" and there is nothing in his parables which need explaining. But in this "insertion" the theory of the writer is that the parables are "mysteries" which not only need explaining but which are spoken for the express purpose of preventing the people from understanding them. The inner circle of disciples, themselves, do not understand them until Jesus furnishes them with a key. Further, Wendling finds this passage distinctly marked by Pauline influences on the basis of such words as: "mystery," "receives it with gladness," "persecution," "lusts," and "bring forth fruit."

Having separated out the two strands Wendling assigns them to an original writer and a redactor. But after separating these as far as possible he points out that with the exception of the interpolation in 4:10-25, the section 1:16-4:33 seems to be a unit and to belong to the oldest stratum. But, he says, a new and easily distinguishable section begins with

In the first section (vers. 1-2) Jesus is teaching from a boat (other boats being with him); then suddenly in the second section (vers. 10-12) he is alone with his disciples discussing the parable of the Sower; then in the third section (vers. 20-41) and again without any indication of change of situation he is in the boat surrounded by other boats, with the multitude still present on the shore. Besides the interruption of the narrative Wendling feels that this passage contains theories which are contrary to those of the writer of the larger part of the Gospel. In other places, Jesus speaks to all the people in parables "as they were able to hear him" and there is nothing in his parables which need explaining. But in this "insertion" the theory of the writer is that the parables are "mysteries" which not only need explaining but which are spoken for the express purpose of preventing the people from understanding them. The inner circle of disciples, themselves, do not understand them until Jesus furnishes them with a key. Further, Wendling finds this passage distinctly marked by Pauline influences on the basis of such words as: "mystery," "receives it with gladness," "persecution," "lusts," and "bring forth fruit."

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4:35. The writer is to be distinguished from both the author of the earliest stratum and the author of the insertions. None of the distinguishing marks of the latter appear. There are no Pauline conceptions, no prohibition of the demons, and it goes back to Old Testament exemplars. Since the insertion in 4:10-25 presupposes the story of the storm on the lake in 4:35-5:43, this latter is older than the former. "The writer of this section (4:35-5:43) therefore stood between the writer of the original strand, and the evangelist or redactor. The last writer (Wendling calls him Ev) worked over the combined (1) work of his two predecessors."

Wendling designates his three authors as M 1, the author of the primitive strand - the Ur-Marcus; M 2 the author of the insertions; and Ev (Evangelist), the final editor. To M 1, an Aramaic source representing the primitive, realistic, impression of Jesus the teacher, as conveyed by Peter, he assigns about 212 verses. To M 2, who translated the primitive strand into Greek with poetical and artistic additions of his own to bring out supernatural powers of Jesus the Messiah, he assigns about 270 verses. And to Ev the redactor whose dogmatic interests surpassed his historical sense, who inserted some passages and edited others, he assigns about 200 verses or parts of verses. The over-elaboration of this analysis is easily seen and immediately makes its validity questionable. On the whole one is more impressed by its ingenuity than by its practicability.

1. Patton, S. J. - op. cit. - p. 80.

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Wendling designates his three authors as M I, the author of the primitive strand - the Ur-Matthew; M 2 the author of the insertions; and Wv (Evangelist), the final editor. To M I, an Aramaic source representing the primitive, realistic, impression of Jesus the teacher, as conveyed by Peter, he assigns about 215 verses. To M 2, who translated the primitive strand into Greek with poetical and artistic additions of his own to bring out supernatural powers of Jesus the Messiah, he assigns about 270 verses. And to Wv the redactor whose dogmatic interests surpassed his historical sense, who inserted some passages and edited others, he assigns about 200 verses or parts of verses. The over-elaboration of this analysis is easily seen and immediately makes its validity questionable. On the whole one is more impressed by its ingenuity than by its practicability.

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Norman Williams in his study of Wendling's Theory revises it, placing the emphasis not upon the minor differences in wording but upon the great omissions. His theory is that there were three editions of Mark the last being our canonical Gospel. His argument is:

The original Mark lacked Mark 13 and Mark 6:4-

8:26.

The edition of Mark used by Luke contained Mark 13 but omitted Mark 6:4-8:26.

The edition used by Matthew contained both passages.

From this he argues either Luke wrote before Matthew or there must have been two recensions of Ur-Marcus in circulation, one of which being incomplete came to the hand of Luke about the same time that the complete one came to Matthew. This too is quite ingenuous but there is little about it to justify its full acceptance.

These are but three of the many schemes proposed for the reconstruction of an Ur-Marcus. A great many scholars have spent time and effort upon it. Others, however, have felt that such a hypothesis is superfluous; that other and simpler explanations can be found for the questions involved; and that reconstructing a primitive Mark is a waste of time. Canon Streeter is one of these and he expresses his view as follows:

- 1. Williams, N. P. - "A Recent Theory Of The Origin Of St. Mark's Gospel" - art. in Studies In The Synoptic Problem - W. Sanday, editor - Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1911.

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"Renounce once and for all the chase of the phantom Ur-Marcus, and the study of the minor agreements becomes the highway to
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the recovery of the purest text of the Gospels."

There is considerable disagreement as to the size of the Ur-Marcus. Several critics (e.g., Weisse, Schenkel, Réville) have argued that it must have been considerably larger than the present Mark, since Matthew and Luke repeatedly agree in matter which Mark, in telling the same story, omits. Unless Matthew used Luke or Luke used Matthew, or unless the coincidences are due to the harmonizing tendencies of copyists, these common additions, so far as they are not trivial, would tend to show that Matthew and Luke drew from a form of Mark considerably fuller than our canonical Mark. This explanation has the air of improbability about it, especially since it involves the great difficulty of explaining why Mark deliberately omitted a large quantity of available material. Others (e.g., P. Ewald, J. Weiss, Von Soden, Wendling) adopt the more probable view that Ur-Marcus was shorter than our present Mark. Yet, if it were shorter, the additions in our Mark, would be only those verses peculiar to it, and these are so few (only about fifty) that it is hard to reason why a new book should be deemed necessary for their incorporation. This is, however, the view generally taken at the present. This leads to the further question of whether Matthew and Luke used the shorter Ur-Marcus or the canonical Mark, much in its present form. The evidence

1. Streeter, B. H. - op. cit. - p. 331.

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1. Streeter, B. N. - op. cit. - p. 351.

is strongly in favor of the use of the latter. One or both of them follow Mark in all of the transpositions, dislocations, and misarrangements of his Gospel. Whether these features stood in the original Mark or not, they evidently stood in the Mark used by the other two Synoptists.

It seems possible, also, to find a simpler explanation for the verbal agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark, or their deviation from him without apparent reason, than these complicated Ur-Marcus theories. A certain number, wholly indeterminate, of those agreements may be allowed to be accidental. Many of them like the substitution of εἶπεν for λέγει, or the occasional changing of Mark's usual καί to δέ, or the replacement of an uncommon word by a common one need no explanation, they are simply attempts at improving Mark's style. "In estimating the probability of Matthew or Luke purposely omitting any whole section of their source, we should remember that they did not regard themselves merely as scribes (professedly reproducing exactly the MS. in front of them), but as independent authors making use, like all historians, of earlier authorities, and selecting from these what seemed to them to be most important." (1) Moreover we must remember that these Gospels were written upon papyrus rolls which were more or less of a standard length. This might indicate that for practical purposes the writers, not wishing their work to exceed the compass of one roll, found compression necessary. When space

1. Streeter, F. G. - op. cit. - p. 169.

is a consideration and much material is available slight reasons may decide for inclusion or rejection. It was undoubtedly true that the Evangelists thought some things less worth-while reporting than others. Their reasons for so thinking are largely lost to us since we cannot know all the circumstances under which they wrote or all the personal characteristics of the men themselves.

It appears as though there is no irresistible argument for an Ur-Marcus. For if Matthew, Mark, and Luke are based on such a document, as long as they all copy it exactly, they will agree. This is what is usually found. Suppose, however, that Matthew fails to copy exactly, then Mark and Luke having copied exactly will agree, while Matthew is different. This is often found, also, and its other form of Mark and Matthew agreeing when Luke does not copy exactly. But if Mark does not copy exactly, while the other two do, then they will agree against Mark; and this we rarely find - never find if we allow the above explanations for the twenty or twenty-one instances, some of them concerned with exceedingly small points, where this disagreement exists. This demands then the highly improbable theory that Mark always copied Ur-Marcus exactly, or that whenever he failed to do so, Matthew and Luke failed as well. As regards all this comparison of the three Gospels we can readily see that the various hypotheses of an Ur-Marcus arose out of the desire for a simple solution of the Synoptic problem. "They could never have been based on the study of Mark alone,

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(1)
a strange hand."

On the other hand there is no trace of an Ur-Marcus in ancient literature. Some have thought, indeed, that we have a hint of it in Justin's reference to a passage in Peter's "memoirs" which is now found only in the Second Gospel. Others have tried to prove that Papias had such a work in mind when he said that Mark lacked "order." Neither of these "hints" is sufficient to accept them as proof. "There is no suggestion anywhere in early Christian literature of the substitution of a later writing for an earlier one, or of the transference of the name and authority of a preceding composition to our
(2)
present Gospel." Nor is it easy to comprehend how a primitive work by the evangelist Mark, giving the Prince Of Apostles' account of the words and deeds of Jesus, if it ever existed, could have been so completely lost and forgotten. In short we must keep in mind the fact that when we go behind that which we actually have we are dealing in theory and that the sources which we think we discover can be only hypothetical.

This particular trend of criticism never greatly endangered the Petrine tradition because so many of its advocates were willing to look upon the Ur-Marcus, if it existed, as the primitive Petrine strand and to agree that this was what Papias

1. Jülicher, Adolf - An Introduction To The New Testament - Smith, Elder, & Co., London, 1904, p. 326.

2. Salmond, S. D. F. - op. cit. - Vol.

had in mind when he made his famous quotation from the elder. If the Ur-Marcus is accepted it simplifies matters to say that it fulfills the requirements of the Papias description and therefore is equivalent to the Gospel there mentioned. If it is rejected, the rejection in no way affects the tradition of Petrine origin since it merely brings us back to the former status, giving the tradition the support of ancient testimony and internal evidence. These facts are probably to a large extent due to the fact that the whole discussion is based upon the consideration of internal evidence and the comparison of the Synoptists, while external evidence is completely lacking.

Chapter VI

Mark And Q

It was pointed out in the discussion of the Two-Document Hypothesis that the best way of accounting for the material in the Matthew-Luke combinations in the Double Tradition was the assumption of a document to which the name "Q" has been given. We turn now to a consideration of that document and its relation to the Petrine Tradition.

Our exceptional good fortune in having one of the sources (i. e. Mark) so fully preserved disappears as soon as we have finished a compilation of the Triple Tradition. When all the sections existing in parallel form in all three of the Gospels have been removed, there remains of Matthew and Luke a considerable quantity of material. Of it a certain amount, approximately two hundred verses amounting to one-sixth of each Gospel (So Streeter, Hawkins, Scott, et al.), appears in parallel form in both Gospels. Our problem is to account for this material and if possible to discover its source.

An examination of the phenomena broadly presented by the matter common to Matthew and Luke readily leads us to the conclusion that a written document was employed. "There are many passages, some of them being of considerable length, in which the similarity, even in unimportant details, between the two Gospels seems too great to be accounted for otherwise

It was pointed out in the discussion of the Two-Document hypothesis that the best way for accounting for the material in the Matthew-Luke combination in the Double Tradition was the assumption of a document to which the name "Q" has been given. We turn now to a consideration of that document and its relation to the Petrine Tradition.

Our exceptional good fortune in having one of the sources (i. e. Mark) so fully preserved disappears as soon as we have finished a comparison of the Triple Tradition. When all the sections existing in parallel form in all three of the Gospels have been removed, there remains of Matthew and Luke a considerable quantity of material. Of it a certain amount, approximately two hundred verses amounting to one-sixth of each Gospel (So Streeter, Hawkins, Scott, et al.), appears in parallel form in both Gospels. Our problem is to account for this material and it is possible to discover the source.

An examination of the phenomena broadly presented by the matter common to Matthew and Luke readily leads us to the conclusion that a written document was employed. "There are many passages, some of them being of considerable length, in which the similarity, even in unimportant details, between the two Gospels seems too great to be accounted for otherwise

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than by the use of a document." Of such passages those of the mote and the beam (Matt. 7:3-5=Luke 7:41,42), the centurion's words (Matt. 8:5-10=Luke 7:1-3, 6-9), and the faithful and evil servants (Matt. 24:43-51a=Luke 12:39, 40, 42-46) are good examples. A second argument is that of the presence of certain very unusual or peculiar Greek words and phrases such as were unlikely to be preserved in Aramaic oral transmission. Still further there are certain grammatical peculiarities preserved by both writers which exist only here in the New Testament. That they drew from different cycles of oral tradition seems possible when we consider those passages where verbal resemblances are small, but such a theory falls short where verbal resemblances are close and striking. Such similarity of detail can be accounted for only by the use of a common written source.

The above conclusion naturally raises the question of the possible interdependence of Matthew and Luke or the use of one by the other. There are trustworthy indications that such was not the case. For instance, Matthew and Luke insert material at different points in Mark's outline. This would mean that if Matthew was the earlier writer Luke first removed all Matthean material from the outline of Mark by the tedious process of comparison and then proceeded to insert it arbitrarily at other points, being careful in almost all cases to insure a different location. Fully two-thirds of the passages which give the clear

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1. Hawkins, Sir John C. - "Probabilities As To The So-Called Double Tradition Of St. Matthew And St. Luke" - In Studies In The Synoptic Problem - W. Sanday, editor, Oxford, 1911, p. 98.

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est indication of being drawn from the same document are placed differently by Matthew and Luke. It seems far from probable that such divergences would occur if either compiler was using a source which was biographical and chronological to the extent of the first and third Gospels.

It would be strange indeed, if either of these writers in using the other would have the presumption to do what would have to be charged against him if such a conclusion were accepted. It would have been necessary for Matthew, if he copied from Luke, to have omitted two of the three "lost" parables, those of the lost coin and the prodigal son, while including the third, that of the lost sheep. And if Luke used Matthew he would be guilty of picking the Sermon On The Mount to bits and scattering it through his Gospel, of changing the genealogical tables, and even of curtailing The Lord's Prayer. Such freedom in handling sources is highly improbable, especially in view of the complete and consistent use of Mark made by both these writers.

Again sometimes Matthew and sometimes Luke gives a passage in what is clearly its more original form. This is explainable if both used the same source, each making slight modifications of his own, or if each used a slightly different version of the same source. It is hardly explainable if either depended upon the other. We turn then to the alternative theory of an earlier written source which both compilers used in addition to Mark. The wide-spread assent which this hypothesis has gained from

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New Testament scholars has given rise to the Two-Source Theory, which is based upon the use of Mark and this second document as the main sources for the first and third Gospels.

We have then a document which was the source of the parallel material found in Matthew and Luke but not found in Mark. Naturally such an explanatory designation is far too cumbersome to be used as a title. The German scholars therefore, gave it the name Quelle, which is the German word for "source." This name in time gave way to its initial letter, Q, which is now the commonly accepted designation. In some of the older discussions it is referred to as "The Logia," "The Apostolic Source," or "The Double Tradition." "We are justified, then, in assuming the existence of Q, so long as we remember that the assumption is one which, though highly probable, falls just short of certainty."⁽¹⁾

The assumption of the existence of such a source is considerably strengthened by the fact that the parallel verses in Matthew and Luke are, broadly speaking, of the general character ----"they are concerned not so much with the actions of Jesus as with his sayings and afford us when we put them together a full conspectus of his teaching."⁽²⁾

It is the usual thing to present the argument from "doublets" also. That is, there are those passages in Matthew and Luke which while differing slightly are to be looked upon

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1. Streeter, B. H. - op. cit. p. 184.
 2. Scott, Ernest F. - The Literature Of The New Testament - Columbia Univ. Press, N. Y., 1932.

as variant traditions of the same saying or deed (e.g., the stories of the feeding of the multitude). The argument drawn from these is that where they are present in Matthew and Luke and one is parallel to a passage in Mark, the other is to be accounted for as a passage from Q, on the grounds that the compilers finding different readings in their two main sources, included both.

Although most scholars are agreed upon the existence of such a document and upon the symbol "Q" as its designation they disagree widely from then on. "The unanimity of scholars largely disappears when they leave the general position that a Q source does underlie Saint Matthew and Saint Luke and when we come to consider details we find ourselves faced with a
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When it was noticed that the Q material was composed, as quoted above, of the sayings of Jesus, the first assumption was that it comprised the "logia" of which Papias spoke (Eusebius H. E. III. 39):

"So then Matthew composed the 'logia' in the Aramaic language and each one interpreted them as he could."
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This statement has been the source of considerable argument. Who was Matthew? This is the first question it raises. It is generally conceded that it is possible that Matthew the apostle is here meant and that he wrote down the "logia."

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1. Jones, Maurice - The New Testament In The Twentieth Century - Macmillan, London, 1914, p. 208.
 2. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers - op. cit. - Vol. I, p. 173.

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What are "logia?" This is not so easily answered. The Greek word is usually translated "discourses" but can also mean "sayings," "oracles," "reports," or "stories." From this it is easy to see why the older practice of calling the document "logia" has been abandoned and the neutral symbol "Q" adopted. What is the relation of the "logia" to our canonical Matthew? The present attitude seems to be that one Matthew, very probably the apostle, wrote down a collection of sayings of Jesus as he remembered them. That collection, written in Aramaic, formed the basis of the source of Matthew and Luke which we call Q, which was probably a Greek translation of the original. Because of its wide use by the writer of the first Gospel, the name of Matthew was carried over and applied to a Gospel which he most certainly did not write.

As to the date and place of writing little can be said. Sir William Ramsay maintains that it was written during the lifetime of Jesus since it lacks a Passion story. Harnack places it in the apostolic epoch and states that its Jewish and Palestinian horizon is quite evident. The common opinion is that it is our earliest Gospel source and that it had its origin at Jerusalem or Antioch. Scholars are also agreed that it was originally written in Aramaic but shortly afterward translated into Greek probably with several versions of the translation. We are quite sure that it was in the Greek form when it came to Matthew and Luke since there are verbal agreements for which we could not otherwise account. As to its versions,

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there is a growing belief that the compilers had different recensions of it. If we cannot thus account for the variances between Matthew and Luke we should have to charge them solely to editorial temperament.

When we discuss the question of the nature and extent of Q we get upon treacherous ground. Since it is lost to us we cannot easily say what it was and what it was not. "While the phenomena make the hypothesis of the existence of a written source Q practically certain, its exact delimitation is a matter of a far more speculative character."⁽¹⁾ We must recognize that the assumption of Q's existence does not mean that we can discover exactly which passages in Matthew and Luke were, and which were not, derived from it. A great many have, however, ventured opinions.

Some believe that it was a manual of sayings which was supplemented by Mark's manual of actions and that Matthew and Luke thought it was time that the two should be woven into a consistent whole. It is generally agreed that it consisted mainly of the sayings of Jesus. Since this is true it might well have been a missionary manual used to fill the need of those who taught his way of life. This catechetical origin finds high favor with Maurice Jones, who says: "Q was a selection compiled for the use of the primitive Christian missionary, as Q consisted of those deeds or words of the Master which would guide him in dealing with the problems of his day

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and explained such questions as the relations of Christ's teaching to that of the Baptist, its relation to Pharisaic doctrine, and how the crucified prophet could be indeed the Christ, the Messiah. It is, therefore, perfectly intelligible as a document written to supplement the living tradition of a generation which had known Christ and produced in the non-literary society of Palestinian peasants to preserve only what they would
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be likely to forget."

Although it apparently had no chronological framework or data of any kind it is evident that it had some plan. Adolf Jülicher thinks it had a grouping by subjects as an aid to teaching. Some (Barth, Réville, and Moffatt) think a fivefold or sevenfold arrangement of sayings can be traced but most are agreed that it was not a finished and purposive work. Although not in fixed form it appears always to have had a certain order - apparently topical, since both Matthew and Luke often give a series of detached sayings dealing with the same subject. Vincent Taylor who calls it "an innovation prompted by the needs of catechetical instruction," thinks that it was not the work of an individual but that it was rooted in the life of primitive Christianity and that it grew and changed both its form and nature in order to survive. Scott also leans toward this idea, saying: "It grew, perhaps, around some primitive nucleus, but passed thru a number of versions, and was constant-
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not wholly detached since in both Matthew and Luke we find enough narrative to give the setting of the saying in several instances.

This raises the question as to whether or not there was any narrative as such present in Q. It is necessary to admit that there is since we can prove it by the same process by which we prove the sayings, that is, by the double tradition of Matthew and Luke. By this means we find the following bits of narrative, that concerning (a) the Baptist and his teaching, (b) the Baptism of Jesus, (c) the temptation, (d) the centurion's servant, (e) the Baptist's embassy from prison. Various suggestions have been made for explaining these passages as purely introductory to the sayings which they contain. Assuming that the author wished to record sayings only we have to explain away these bits of narrative.

These then are the explanations. The Baptist passages are explained by saying first that Q started with the discourses of John; secondly that Jesus repeated the story and preaching of John and it was thus a saying (the preaching being that which Jesus heard before his Baptism). The Baptism passage is explained by saying that it was included because Jesus had told of it or because it showed Jesus' attitude upon a matter that might be controversial. The temptation passages could have come down to us only as sayings of Jesus since his disciples would know of such experiences only through his story of them. The centurion's servant passage was put in to introduce "I

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have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." The embassy of the Baptist passage gives us narrative which is patently incidental to the teaching.

That it was primarily a collection of sayings can also be argued from the apparent lack of a Passion narrative. This would be logical since the passion was narrative. Neither Matthew nor Luke has anything here that seems to have been drawn from Q. Furthermore Q was intended not to supersede but to supplement an oral tradition the most vivid part of which probably concerned the passion.

Concerning the order of Q we can look only to Matthew and Luke and ask which one preserves it best. Matthew tries to alternate his two main sources, Mark and Q, by giving successive blocks of narrative and groups of sayings. He does not seem to keep Q's order as well as he does Mark's. He rather appears to have sorted the Q material into five groups of kindred sayings, presenting each as a single discourse, supposed to be uttered by Jesus at a given time. Luke tries to connect the sayings with appropriate incidents. Such as he has left over he seems to have inserted into the Marcan material in one large block of nine chapters (9:51-18:14). The weight of scholarly opinion is with Luke. Harnack, however, favors Matthew on the basis of their respective handling of Marcan material and maintains that Luke chopped up the passages such as the Sermon On The Mount, which Matthew transfers intact. The former theory seems the best since it is a wise rule of

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criticism that the simplest and least complicated solution is also the most probable.

"The attempt to reconstruct Q has been a popular pastime (1) among New Testament scholars during the last twenty years."

And although all seem to agree that reconstruction is impossible all try their hands at it. To attempt reconstruction is precarious for several reasons. First of all we are prone to underestimate the probability of several versions of the same sayings. This leads to excluding Q passages where the parallelism may not be considered sufficient to indicate a common source. Secondly Matthew and Luke in their use of Mark indicate their freedom in selecting and rejecting certain items. Therefore we should allow that not all of Q appears in the double tradition but that a wide margin exists in one but not in the other. Thirdly, it is possible that we do not make sufficient allowance for oral tradition preserved in proverbial form (e. g., "It is more blessed to give than to receive" Acts 20:35).

This would allow for parallelism without a common written source.

"If Mark had been lost but Q preserved, and we could therefore only reconstruct Mark by taking all the common matter of Matthew and Luke and deducting that belonging to Q, assigning the rest to the lost (Marcan) document we were reconstructing (the converse of the actual state of things), only those passages of Mark which both Matthew and Luke reproduce could have been identified as belonging to this source. But these only

1. Jones, Maurice - op. cit. - p. 208.

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1. Jones, *Matthean* - 21. 215. - 2. 202.

amount to about two-thirds of Mark. We infer therefore that the passages which we can identify as Q by the fact that both Matthew and Luke reproduce them may possibly only represent about two-thirds of the original total matter in Q.⁽¹⁾"

We would moreover lose much of the spirit of Mark because of the freedom of reproduction, the failure to quote literally, and the failure to quote completely. Therefore, we may further infer that we have lost much of the spirit of Q for the same reasons.

The majority of reconstructions that have been made, despite the "impossibility" have been drawn up on the simple principle of including in Q all the non-Markan material common to both Matthew and Luke. Some, however, go beyond this and attempt to judge the single traditions. There is a conspicuous lack of harmony in the reconstructions and yet such harmony as there is seems to indicate that the various methods used have an element of soundness.

Carl Patton has made a comparative table of five of the better-known reconstructions, those by Harnack, Wellhausen, Hawkins, J. Weiss, and Wernle. His table shows the following interesting points:

As to the number of chapters involved:

- All five have detected Q material in 11 chapters of Matt.
- All five have detected Q material in 9 chapters of Luke.
- Three have detected Q material in 16 chapters of Matt.
- Three have detected Q material in 14 chapters of Luke.

As to the number of verses involved:

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1. Hawkins, John C. - op. cit. - p. 185.
 2. Patton, C. S. - op. cit. - pp. 108-120.

In Matthew:	Wernle assigns	302 to Q
	Wellhausen "	256 to Q
	Weiss "	248 to Q
	Hawkins "	194 to Q
	Harnack "	190 to Q

It is interesting to note that out of Wernle's 302 verses, the greatest number, 208 are agreed upon by two other men. Out of Harnack's 190 verses, the smallest number, 101 are agreed upon by all five.

In Luke:	Wernle assigns	255 to Q
	Wellhausen "	210 to Q
	Hawkins "	192 to Q
	Harnack "	190 to Q
	Weiss "	174 to Q

In these reconstructions Harnack and Hawkins follow the simple practice of assigning parallel verses only, while the others base their choice upon general character of the verses as well. Moffatt in his "Introduction To The Literature Of The New Testament" gives sixteen reconstructions conveniently arranged for comparison. The various reconstructions are, however, only theoretical, as the scholars themselves are the first to admit. And we must end where we began with the statement that Q itself is hypothetical and the parts common to Matthew and Luke (lying outside of Mark) may or may not all represent the contents of a single document. In short, "the net result of these studies has done more to stimulate than to conclude the work of solving the synoptic problem."

1. Moffatt, James - An Introduction To The Literature Of The New Testament - Scribners, N. Y., 1929, pp. 197-202.
2. Burch, W. W. - "The Structure Of The Synoptic Gospels" - art. in Abingdon Bible Commentary - N. Y., 1929.

We turn then to the question of the possibility of the relationship of Mark to such a document. Opinion here falls into three classes. The first is that of those who maintain that Mark used Q. One fact at least favors this view - there is a certain amount of overlapping between Q and Mark. "In fact, to put it paradoxically, the overlapping of Mark and Q is more certain than is the existence of Q.⁽¹⁾" This is true because no matter what theory we accept as to the character of the source or sources of the non-Marcian material common to Matthew and Luke it is clear that certain items were known to Matthew and Luke both in Mark's version and in another version which was considerably different. This overlapping covers about fifty verses of Mark. This seems, to many critics, proof that Mark knew and made extracts from Q. In favor of this view is the fact that in many of the cases of overlapping the Q version is longer and looks more original. "In fact----the Marcan often looks like a 'mutilated excerpt' from the Q version."⁽²⁾ In that case the difficulty lies in explaining why Mark derives such a small amount of material from Q. This view is however, less widely held than formerly, even Streeter from whom we have just quoted having swung over to the other side.

Another group of critics is of the opinion that Mark did not know Q. They hold that any theory that Mark depended upon Q assumes that the latter had a monopoly on the sayings of

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1. Streeter, B. H. - op. cit. - p. 187.
 2. Streeter, B. H. - op. cit. - p. 187.

Jesus. Such a thing seems very unlikely. "Sayings of Jesus, such as come into question here, must have been circulating in many directions; it is contrary to all probabilities that they were drawn into the single channel or canal of Q, so that any writer had to derive them from this source. In the nature of the case there must have been considerable amount of material common to the Petrine tradition and the Matthaean Logia; it is to adopt an ultra-literary method if we explain any parallels (e.g., 4:21-22; 6:7-13; 9:37, 42f; 10:42f; 11:22-25) between the reproduction of the former in Mark and the latter by the hypothesis of borrowing, especially as Q itself must have gone back partially to the Petrine tradition of the sayings.⁽¹⁾" This group of critics also points out that no satisfactory explanation has even been made for Mark's scanty use of Q if he knew it. Many of his sayings would have been in accord with his purpose. It is hard to explain why any Christian writer should ignore words like those concerning the relation of the Father and the Son (Matt. 11:27). There is no apparent reason why he should have failed to repeat its contents, even if he assumed that his readers already had Q. Again it is not absolutely necessary in any case, on the basis of either style or substance, to assume that Mark borrowed from Q. Some passages are undoubtedly later insertions into all the Gospels, some passages in the canonical Mark may have been drawn directly from Matthew or Luke by a later editor, some passages may be the result of stereotyped

1. Moffatt, James - op. cit. - p. 205.

Jesus. Such a thing seems very unlikely. "Sayings of Jesus," such as come into question here, must have been circulating in many directions; it is contrary to all probabilities that they were drawn into the single channel or canal of Q, so that any writer had to derive them from this source. In the nature of the case there must have been considerable amount of material common to the Petrine tradition and the Matthean logic; it is to adopt an ultra-literary method if we explain any parallels (e.g., 4:21-22; 6:7-13; 9:37, 42; 10:42; 11:2-3; 11:23-25) between the reproduction of the former in Mark and the latter by the hypothesis of borrowing, especially as Q itself must have gone back (1) partially to the Petrine tradition of the sayings. This group of critics also point out that no satisfactory explanation has even been made for Mark's ready use of Q if he knew it. Many of his sayings would have been in accord with his purpose. It is hard to explain why any Christian writer should ignore words like those concerning the relation of the Father and the Son (Matt. 11:27). There is no apparent reason why he should have failed to repeat its contents, even if he assumed that his readers already had Q. Again it is not absolutely necessary in any case, on the basis of either style or substance, to assume that Mark borrowed from Q. Some passages are undoubtedly later insertions into all the Gospels, some passages in the canonical Mark may have been drawn directly from Matthew or Luke by a later editor, some passages may be the result of stereotyped

I. Moffatt, James - op. cit. - p. 205.

oral tradition.

The third set of critics, the majority of them, take the easiest way out of this problem. They acknowledge that Q is the earliest written source and then say that Mark knew Q but did not use it. This they explain by saying that knowing Q to be a collection of sayings he wrote a collection of actions to supplement it; or that he did not wish to duplicate what was already in use and widely known. On the basis of the number of critics favoring this opinion and the previous one, and the weight of their arguments, it is fairly certain that Mark made no use of Q.

If this is true we again arrive at the conclusion that the Petrine tradition is undisturbed by more recent theories. If it could be successfully shown that Mark made any considerable use of Q, it would demonstrate that he was not merely an amanuensis but a compiler, thereby seriously threatening the Petrine tradition. Since it was expressly stated that Mark's only source was Peter's first-hand testimony, any proof of the use of other sources would necessitate the abolition, in part at least, of the ancient tradition. But since it seems to be commonly agreed that Mark made no use of Q and that the parallels that would indicate such use can be otherwise explained, the tradition must still stand as at least probably true.

Before leaving this question it seems well to mention the theory of Loisy who in his edition of "The Synoptic Gospels" published in 1908 expressed willingness and readiness to believe that for Q as well as for Mark's narrative source, Peter was an

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ultimate authority. He argued that the date of both may be about the same: their place of origin (Jerusalem) and language (Aramaic) may be the same; and the spirit is about the same. Both, he pointed out, expressed the recollections and the faith of the early Christian community. Although this theory has a kernel of truth in its claim of an important place for Peter and Petrine material in the early church, it is merely a conjecture without any internal or external support.

It is which underlies the Synoptic problem. Its aim is to study the development of oral tradition before its crystallization into the Synoptic Gospels. This takes the research back beyond the earliest written records such as St. Mark's, and the Psephos Gospel. It seeks to go back to the first period of tradition upon which these earliest writings were based. In a comparison of other processes of development in oral tradition, chiefly oral, and in the evidence of editorial modification and elaboration within the Synoptic Gospels, they see the probability of some kind of orderly procedure, based upon the laws of folk psychology, which may be traced to the earliest period.

"There are, it is assumed, positive 'laws' governing the development of tradition; the present task of the New Testament writer, now that the Synoptic Gospels are fairly good and recognized, is to examine the operation of these laws during the relatively brief stage lying between the death of Jesus and the earliest written account of his life and teaching. Thus Form-Criticism may be looked upon as the logical next step in

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Chapter VII

Form-Criticism And Mark

During the past twenty years, American and British scholars have been aware of the rise of a new German school of Gospel research and criticism, the method of which is known as Formgeschichte, which in English means "Form History," or better still, "Form Criticism." This school devotes its attention to the component units into which the tradition which underlies the Gospels may be analyzed. Its aim is to study the development of the oral tradition before its crystallization into the Gospels. This takes the research back beyond the earliest written records such as Q, Ur-Marcus, and the Passion Narrative - back even beyond the fixed cycles of traditions upon which these earliest writings were based. In a comparison of other processes of development in oral tradition, chiefly oriental, and in the evidence of editorial modification and elaboration within the Synoptic Gospels, they see the probability of some kind of orderly procedure, based upon the laws of folk psychology, which may be traced to the earlier period.

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research, and it promises, if successful, to carry us back to
 the very fountain-head of Christian origins.⁽¹⁾"

This school has in reality sprung up since the World War and although anticipations of the method may be found in the works of earlier scholars (e.g., J. Weiss and Wellhausen), its full application can be seen only in the writings of such contemporaries as Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Dibelius. This school is not content to take the traditional origin of Mark for granted and has devoted itself to the task of accounting for the existence of the Gospels without any reference to the second-century traditions. This is to be accomplished, it is thought, by working backward from the Gospels, through the various stages of transmission, to a point as near as possible to the actual words and deeds as spoken and performed in Palestine.

The Two-Source Theory which is generally thought to account for the written sources of our Gospels is accepted and welcomed by the writers of this school, but they are not content to stop with it - or with any other merely literary result. They point out that the early Church was not likely to have expressed itself in writing either during the lifetime of Jesus or immediately afterward. Rather, it is likely that in the earliest years oral traditions of the words and deeds of Jesus were passed on by word of mouth, being treasured not in and for themselves, but as a source of authority in solving the problems of the youthful Christian communities. These needs, the adherents

1. Grant, Frederick C., - translator - Form Criticism - Willett, Clark, & Co., New York, 1934, p. 2.

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of the theory think, would be chiefly concerned with mission preaching, catechetical teaching, demonstration of the content and meaning of Christian living, controversy with Judaism and other opposing elements, and, perhaps most of all, worship. They believe, also, that these traditions would at first circulate in two forms: on the one hand, that of little, separate stories, and, on the other, that of sayings of Jesus, either separately or in collections. Such stories and sayings would naturally assume a more or less fixed form because of their constant repetition in the Churches. Since there were already such collections of sayings of and stories about teachers and leaders of the Jewish and Hellenistic worlds, it is possible that the Christians consciously or unconsciously used them as models. "And, finally, they suggest that many of these pre-literary traditions are still discernible in our written gospels, especially St. Mark, and that to some extent they can be classified according to their type and form; whence the name of the
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The Form-Critics therefore reject the possibility of making out of Mark's narrative either the development of the Messianic consciousness and claim of Jesus, the course of his activity, or the reasons for his death. They claim that Mark grew out of the primitive community, is steeped in its interests and views, and dominated by its theology and its dogmatic conception of

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1. Lightfoot, R. H. - History And Interpretation In The Gospels
Harper & Bros., N. Y., 1934.

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Christ. They say, then, that the writer used the traditional material revising it and rearranging it to fit his own ideas. Applying their theory they say that, "it may be seen quite clearly that the original tradition was made up almost entirely of brief single units (sayings or short narratives), and that almost all references to time and place which serve to connect the single sections into a larger context are the editorial work of the evangelists. They make use of typical formulas of transition which are spread, so to speak, over an apparently limited body of local tradition in order to provide the background of the particular scenes and the framework of the life of Jesus as a whole: the house, the road, the mountain, the shore; situations such as Jesus in the boat, upon a journey, as a guest at a meal, or in the synagogue at public worship. Entirely schematic is the appearance of the crowds, the opponents, and the attending disciples." This editorial technique appears to be progressive, being relatively undeveloped in Mark but quite polished in Luke. Thus, when this editorial material is removed from the Gospels we have left the disconnected bits of older traditional material from which they were composed. It now remains to determine the laws governing the growth of popular narrative and tradition and to test these sections against them.

"The laws governing the formulation of popular narrative and tradition may be studied in detail in the material which the Synoptists hand down. The first thing we observe is that the

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1. Bultmann, R. - "The Study Of The Synoptic Gospels" - art. in Form Criticism - F. C. Grant, translator, op. cit. - p. 26.

narrators do not give us long unified accounts but rather small single pictures, individual scenes narrated with the utmost simplicity.⁽¹⁾ Thus the narratives are very short and have only two, or at most three, characters. Crowds when they are present are treated as units. When these narratives are passed from one person to another or taken over by another writer, their fundamental character remains the same but their details change with the fancy of the writer. The changes are usually in the direction of explicitness and definiteness. So, for example, the ear of the high priest's servant which was struck off in Gethsemane (Mark 14:47) was according to Luke (22:50) the right ear. Or again, names are supplied in the later Gospels for the unnamed persons in the earlier ones, as in the case of the disciples who are sent to prepare for the Last Supper; they are unnamed in Mark (14:13); in Luke (22:8) it is said that they were Peter and John.

Another change that often occurs is that of giving in direct discourse what the source has given indirectly. While, for example, Mark (14:23) tells that when the cup was passed around at the Last Supper "they all drank of it," Matthew (26:27) has Jesus say, "Drink ye all of it." "Along with the tendency to characterize more definitely the dim figures in the tradition goes the inclination to impose a schematic idea of the course of Jesus' activity, viz. the opponents with whom Jesus engages in disputation are almost invariably scribes and Pharisees, who

1. Bultmann, R. - op. cit. - p. 32.

interrogate him with malicious intent. One may often observe or infer that the earliest tradition had to do with unspecified questioners, whom the later narrators transformed into ill-disposed scribes and Pharisees." (1)

The next step is to set forth the evangelic material in the forms of distinct literary types. Doctor Martin Dibelius, who made the first really determined effort to do this distinguishes three main forms in the narrative material of the Gospels, namely: Paradigms, Tales, and Legends. These he defines as follows:

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| "PARADIGM | A short illustrative notice or story of an event, not more descriptive than is necessary to make the point for the sake of which it is introduced. |
| "TALE | A story told <u>primarily</u> for its own sake. |
| "LEGEND | A narrative about some sainted person. The term 'legend' does not in itself raise the question of historicity." (2) |

The paradigms he believes were originally separate so that a preacher might choose any of them for his immediate need. But the Evangelists have grouped these paradigms into continuous stories with the aid of editorial notes and other modifications, with the result that it is now exceedingly difficult to find a paradigm in its earliest form. From Mark, Dibelius has been able to recover only eight of them in a relatively pure state.

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1. Bultmann, R. - op. cit. - p. 34.
 2. Dibelius, Martin - From Tradition To Gospel - Scribner's N. Y., 1935, p. xv.

They are:

The Healing of the Paralytic.....	Mark 2:1-12	
The Question of Fasting.....	Mark 2:18-22	
The Rubbing of the Ears of Corn....	Mark 2:23-28	
The Healing of the Withered Hand....	Mark 3:1-6	
The Relatives of Jesus.....	Mark 3:20f.,	31-35
Blessing the Children.....	Mark 10:13-16	
The Tribute Money.....	Mark 12:13-17	
The Anointing in Bethany.....	Mark 14:3f.	(1)

These are excellent examples of Dibelius' paradigms for they fulfill all the requirements of early tradition. Each of these sections is complete in itself, the editorial introductions and conclusions being easily detachable. Each contains only the strict minimum of detail necessary to understand the incident narrated. Christ's questioners are never described beyond a brief mention of their characters and are often made to speak in chorus. In the cures there is no loitering with the miracle for its own sake. All that is given is the nature of the ailment, Jesus' words, and their effect. Everything is subordinated to a central saying of Jesus, which is the kernel of the paradigm, and which invariably possesses universal application. And finally they end with the exclamation of the onlookers praising the act. Thus a paradigm would be formed by taking the existing recollections of an incident, eliminating needless features, concentrating everything upon the kernel saying, and giving it a coloring that is thoroughly religious. Not only would this often involve a departure from objective historical recording, but it may have led, as Dibelius thinks, to the

1. Dibelius, Martin - op. cit. - p. 43.

intentional generalizing of Jesus' sayings. On this basis it is possible, by removing the generalized saying, to catch a glimpse of the pre-paradigm stage of the tradition.

Dibelius thinks that as Christianity spread in the world it developed new needs, and that the teacher and story-teller were developments to fill these. It is with the work of the latter that we are now concerned. It was he that gave to the tradition its second type, the "tales." Of these Dibelius finds the following nine in the Gospel of Mark:

The Leper: Mark 1:40-5.

The Storm: Mark 4:35-41.

The Demons and the Swine: Mark 5:1-20.

The Daughter of Jairus and the Woman with the Issue: Mark 5:21-43.

(Here two stories are so closely interwoven that any attempt to separate them would destroy the structure of both the main and the subsidiary narrative.)

The Feeding of the Five Thousand: Mark 6:35-44.

The Walking on the Sea: Mark 6:45-52.

The Man, Deaf and Dumb: Mark 7:32-37.

The Blind Man of Bethsaida: Mark 8:22-26.

The Epileptic Boy: Mark 9:14-29.

These stories are marked by definite characteristics. They describe Jesus primarily as a wonder-worker. These stories, each complete in itself, are told with a lack of devotional motives and with a gradual retreat of any words of Jesus of general value. Vividness of detail is indispensable to them, however, and unedifying elements, as when the disciples rebuke Jesus or question his wisdom (Mark 4:38; 5:31; 6:37; etc.), are introduced for the purpose of heightening the action. Finally, these stories usually close with a statement which establishes

the proof of the miracle (e.g., the healing of the dumb man concludes, "He spoke properly"). These stories may have arisen in any one of three ways, the enlarging of paradigms, the deliberate application of motives to brief narrative bits, and the taking over and transformation of non-Christian stories as wholes. Which one of these alternatives is applicable in any given case is usually indeterminate since we do not know all the original material. This much is certain, these tales were not formed for public worship, they are only partly Christian and they all contain something of the "world."

Between the paradigms which represent Christian formulation with an edifying style, and the tales with their technique developed after the secular manner of the surrounding world, there is a third category of narratives to be found in the Gospels as well as in the popular literature of the day. Its method of speaking is not altogether secular, but is more explicitly edifying. "Here we have to do with 'religious' stories as they are known and loved in the world, so loved, indeed, that the name Legend, which applies to their category, has become the typical designation of a religious story." For the most part, the Legends, by their nature, are interested in secondary things and persons. Here all sorts of people surrounding Jesus are called forward, the future significance of Jesus is shown during his childhood (Luke 2:41-49); and exemplary thoughts and deeds of religious men are brought out

1. Dibelius, Martin - op. cit. - p. 104.

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(e.g., in the story of Zaccheus, Luke 19:1-10). "Legends put halos around men, and set in a transfiguring light the very things which religious men did. Hence everything belonging to the very fact of religious men may become significant in a Legend. Paradigms have to do with the message as such, and Tales with miracle. But Legends sometimes lack concentration, and their interests are manifold, because nothing proper to the fact of a man of God must be excluded. Hence in this case analysis cannot prove the type by examples as (with Paradigms and Tales). Rather we must demonstrate by the narratives themselves and the interests which come to light in their statements⁽¹⁾ whether and in what sense we are dealing with a Legend."

Besides these three important types of narrative Dibelius also postulates an unnamed form in which a saying is dramatized into an event, as in the dispute about rank (Mark 9:33-37); the epiphany, a special kind of story which depicts a supernatural being revealing himself to chosen witnesses while remaining hidden from the public, as in the raising of the daughter of Jairus (Mark 5:37; cf 7:33 and 8:23); and the myth, the narrative of the doings of a divine person that explain some cosmic phenomenon or some observance in a cult. In Christianity the myths have arisen either by the transference of some current mythical story to Jesus or by explaining some Christian doctrine or act of worship as depicting an epiphany of the Divine Son.

1. Dibelius, Martin - op. cit. - p. 132. In the () the words "our third and fourth chapters" are omitted and the subjects of those chapters are inserted.

In this latter class Dibelius put the baptism and transfiguration stories.

These forms are largely rejected by Rudolf Bultmann, who divides the material into Apothegms (equivalent to paradigms but of wider application,) Miracle Stories, Proverbs, prophetic and apocalyptic utterances, legalistic sayings and rules of the Church, sayings in the first person, and parables. Gunkel makes a distinction between "myths" and "folk-stories," Martin Albertz names "dialogues" as set forms with laws of their own, Charles Fox Burney distinguishes "poem stanzas," and so on.

One of the main faults with the proponents of this theory is their disregard for the basic requirement of their own theory, namely, that they must argue from the form itself. "Form-criticism must confine itself to the study of forms, without attempting tasks that lie beyond its reach. And so the use of form-criticism to detect legendary elements in the Gospels was a mistake, since the legend as such has and can have no peculiar form of its own." (1) Dibelius' term "paradigm" is unsatisfactory also, since it designates not a form but a function that many types might fulfill. Neither do "myths" have a form of their own - the name designates not the outward structure but the contents of a narrative. This is true also of folk-stories and seems to be true of Dibelius' "epiphanies" and Bertram's "cult-legends." All of these narratives are found in stories of

1. Easton, B. S. - The Gospel Before The Gospels - Scribner's, N. Y., 1928, p. 85.

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I. Keston, E. S. - The Gospel Before The Gospels - Bultmann's
M. T., 1924, p. 82.

the most diverse types and having no set forms are not really part of the scheme. "From the historical standpoint questions as to the possible presence of mythical, legendary, cult-legendary, and epiphany elements are wholly legitimate, and they demand an answer. But neither can the questions be asked nor the answers given from the point of form-criticism.⁽¹⁾" This is true because this method is not of itself a historic tool for by itself it can tell us nothing at all concerning the truth or falsity of the incident related.

Obviously much of the difficulty, especially that revealed by the wide divergences in nomenclatures, is inevitable, for the originators of our Synoptic tradition were probably unconcerned with literary types and our "forms" are at best distinctions superimposed upon ancient material. No scheme can be more than approximately satisfactory. Yet sufficient progress has been made to indicate that the undertaking may be valuable. We must, however, remember that form-criticism is not historic criticism.

"This school has at least the merit of welding all kinds of scattered ideas into a coherent whole, and of drawing very definite conclusions from them which may be thus summarized:

"(i) The setting of the Gospel narratives is artificial, the transitions in them are schematic, and due to an editor's hand; they are not originally connected, and they only conceal the fact that the Gospel narrative was originally formed of a multiplicity of isolated elements separate from each other.

1. Easton, B. S. - op. cit. - p. 64.

the most diverse types and having no set forms and not really part of the scheme. "From the historical standpoint questions as to the possible presence of mythical, legendary, anti-legendary, and epigraphic elements are wholly legitimate, and they demand an answer. For neither can the question be asked nor (1) The answers given from the point of form-criticism." This is true because this method is not of itself a historic tool for by itself it can tell us nothing at all concerning the truth or falsity of the incident related.

Obviously much of the difficulty, especially that revealed by the wide divergences in form-criticism, is inevitable, for the originators of our Synoptic tradition were probably unconcerned with literary types and our "forms" are of best distinction superimposed upon ancient material. No scheme can be more than approximately satisfactory. Yet sufficient progress has been made to indicate that the undertaking may be valuable. We must, however, remember that form-criticism is not historic criticism.

"This school has at least the merit of welding all kinds of scattered ideas into a coherent whole, and of drawing very definite conclusions from them which may be thus summarized:

- (1) The setting of the Gospel narratives is artificial, the circumstances in them are schematic, and due to an editor's hand; they are not originally connected, and they only conceal the fact that the Gospel narrative was originally formed of a multiplicity of isolated elements separate from each other.

"(ii) The Gospels are not historical documents. They were neither composed nor preserved in order to make known the Jesus who lived and taught in Galilee and in Judaea and who died at Jerusalem. They are religious documents which represent what Jesus was for the faith and piety of the circles in which they were composed.

"(iii) The different forms under which the material of the Gospel story has been presented shows that they have been elaborated in view of the differing functions of the life of the Church; they are so closely adapted to this purpose that it would be foolish to imagine that it would be possible to discover an historical kernel within them." (1)

The method used, trying to classify the Gospel stories in types corresponding to the diverse functions in the life of the early Church proves to be very arbitrary. Even if it were legitimate to assume that there was a definite connection between these forms and these functions, it would be wrong to conclude from this that the function created the form, that it was the needs of catechizing, preaching, and public worship which determined the appearance of the materials used by them and gave them their structure and form. It is altogether possible that these things were the result not of creation but of adaptation and utilization of some of the elements in the Gospel tradition for the needs of the Church. If this is true, it may account to some extent for the form of the Gospel materials by the uses to which they were put, but it does not explain the creation of the Gospels themselves.

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1. Goguel, Maurice - The Life Of Jesus - Macmillan, N. Y., 1933, p. 58.

An attempt to make it do so has been made by Vincent
 (1) Taylor. He starts by dividing the time between the death of Jesus and the end of the century into three periods, extending from 30 to 50 A. D., from 50 to 65, and from 65 to 100. In the first of these, the years immediately following the Resurrection he believes that the Christians preserved cycles of connected reminiscences associated with the centres of Jesus' activity, examples of which may be seen in the Passion-narratives and the sections of Mark having to do with Capernaum (1:21-39) and the Sea of Galilee (4:35-5:43; 6:30-8:26). These he holds were shaped by constant repetition and spread from one centre to another by the travels of the Christian leaders. In this period there is no demand for a connected record, apart from the Passion Story, and no interest is visible in the life of Jesus earlier than his ministry. "The first period is one in which the self-contained story, the sayings group, and the single saying represent the normal types of tradition, and the prevailing range of interest."
 (2) The characteristic mark of the second period is the attempt to gather the scattered elements of the tradition into groups. The attention seems to have been directed especially toward the collection of the sayings of Jesus and their arrangement in topical order. Such collections of Pronouncement-Stories Albertz claims can be seen in Mark 2:1-3:6; 9:15-17, 27-33; 12:13-40, indicating that Mark knew and

1. Taylor, Vincent - The Formation Of The Gospel Tradition - Macmillan, London, 1933, Chapter 8.
2. Taylor, Vincent - op. cit. - p. 175.

used such sources. It was during this period also that the Sayings-collection "Q" was formed. The third period is that of the Evangelists and the "many" who had "taken in hand to draw up a narrative" (Luke 1:1). During these years "a special impulse was given to the task of Gospel compilation by the rapid expansion of the Gentile Mission, the lapse of time, and the increased need for Christian instruction and defence."⁽¹⁾ Even Taylor admits, however, that far more than Form-Criticism is needed to trace out the history of the Gospels.

This method of criticism if accepted would undoubtedly wipe out all the second-century traditions concerning the origin of the Gospel According To Mark by making Mark a compiler of oral tradition plus collected groups of stories. It should, however, grant Petrine origin to some of the Marcan material since Peter played so large a part in the early Church. Although none of its leading proponents make any such allowance, it would be highly improbable that Peter did not both originate some material and take part in the formative processes of other material. Again it is not beyond conception that Peter, a first century preacher, would have used such "forms" as existed. If he did, then Papias' statement that Mark derived his Gospel from Peter's sermons may account for the paradigms and tales in it. This begins, however, to look like unnecessary hairsplitting when the results of Form-Criticism are still too arbitrary and too subjective to be taken as absolutely conclusive.

1. Taylor, Vincent - op. cit. - p. 185.

Chapter VIII

The Tendency Theory And Paulinism

Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860) and the Tübingen School, for so his followers came to be designated, first attempted to place the New Testament writings in their true setting of primitive Church history. This centered attention upon the dates of the New Testament writings, all of which are included in the century from 50 to 150 A. D.

"Baur's conception of the course of events in this momentous century has been described as a theory of historical progress by fusion of opposites in a higher unity. The Hegelian scheme of thesis, antithesis and synthesis had in fact some justification in the recognized phenomena of the development of Christianity. It had sprung from Judaism, overcoming the particularism of that still nationalistic faith by the sense of its mission to the world at large. The conflict acknowledged in all the sources and most vividly reflected in the great Epistles of Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians and Romans, a conflict between those who conceived Christianity as a universal religion, and those who looked upon it as only a reformed, spiritualized and perfected Judaism, was the characteristic phenomenon of the first or apostolic⁽¹⁾ age." Following out the Hegelian principle Baur developed the "Tendency Theory" and applied it to the Gospels. According to this view, Matthew (polemically Jewish-

1. Bacon, B. W. - The Making Of The New Testament - Holt ,
N. Y., 1912, p. 39.

Christian) came first, followed by an original Luke (polemically Pauline-Christian), then by our Mark which was based upon both and written in the interest of neutrality, and last by our Luke which was designed as a final irenicon. Inasmuch as the Petrine tradition is regarded as essentially Jewish-Christian this theory regards Mark as a "Tendency" writing composed for the purpose of reconciling and mediating between the Pauline and Petrine parties in the early Church. Later writers of the school gave up the priority of Luke but not of Matthew.

The fault with this school lay in its method in which the examination of the simple literary phenomena of the Gospels played only a very subordinate part. "So far as these critics discussed the Gospels themselves and compared them, their object was chiefly to show how the several Gospels, by virtue of their individual characteristics, fitted in with and illustrated their own more general theories as to parties among the early Christians, and their tendencies.⁽¹⁾" They tried to discover the bias of each writer which led him to mould his narrative in his own particular way, and to assign to it on that basis its date and historical importance. Each book was allotted its position in time and space by reason of the conscious relationship of its writer to the supposed mortal conflict between the two branches of Apostolic Christianity. They proceeded immediately to broad generalizations which had neither been reached nor veri-

1. Stanton, V. H. - "Gospels" - art. in Hastings Bible Dictionary, Scribner's, N. Y., 1899, Vol II, p. 237.

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fied by a close examination of all the facts. The result has been that, in spite of the ability of the leaders and the importance of their contribution to the study of early Christian history, their theories have been largely overthrown.

It is difficult to make a "tendency writing" out of Mark. Several attempts have been made with different objects in view. Besides the Tübingen idea of a mediating document, it has been called now a Petrine production, now a Pauline production. All such attempts have been failures, but all contain a measure of truth. The author was not a Judaizer for the Gospel was written for Gentiles. In it Pharisaism is condemned, and the Davidic descent of Jesus, although asserted, is not systematically proved. Nor was he an extreme Paulinist. He did, it is true, mediate between Paul and the Judaizers, but whether or not such neutrality was conscious and intentional is to be doubted. All these attempts to make him take one side or the other, or to avoid all extreme utterances on either side and so effect a reconciliation of all parties on a common evangelistic ground, looks like forcing theory upon his Gospel from the outside. "In the writer himself we can trace no tendency but that of telling the Gospel of Jesus Christ as movingly as possible, and of demonstrating his glory through his own words and deeds - (1) the tendency in fact, which every Gospel must display." By rejecting this theory, as the majority of New Testament scholars do, we again avoid the necessity of either accepting or

1. Jülicher, Adolf - op. cit. - p. 321.

rejecting the Petrine Tradition.

This does not, however, do away with the question of Pauline influence upon Mark and his Gospel. That hints of such a relationship can be detected is usually conceded. But Dr. Benjamin Wisner Bacon, does not stop with detecting hints, he believes that "in very high degree Mark's narrative is dominated by theoretical considerations, often manifestly derived from (1) the Pauline Epistles, especially Romans." He believes also that Mark is the most Pauline of the Synoptic Gospels, basing his judgment upon Mark's conception of his task. He points out that although Mark must have known the teaching-source Q, he leaves his readers without any information on the law of Jesus. In short he is more interested in presenting the gospel concerning Jesus than the gospel of Jesus. His effort is expended to produce belief in Jesus as the Son of God. When he does give attention to the teaching of Jesus, in the section 8:27-10:52, Bacon sees in it a portrayal of "the mind that was in Christ Jesus."

The opposition, with Schweitzer, Wernle, and Martin Werner as leaders, has tried to prove that the Gospel of Mark shows no trace whatever of Pauline influence. Their argument is best summed up by Werner, as follows:

"Whether the Mark of our second Gospel be identified with the companion of Paul or not,

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1. Bacon, B. W. - The Beginnings Of Gospel Story - Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, p. xx.

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a comparison of his writing with the Pauline Epistles today generally acknowledged as authentic gives the following result:

"1. Where Mark agrees with Paul the matter in question always consists of primitive Christian ideas universally current.

"2. Wherever we find in the Epistles distinctive, characteristic Pauline views which transcend this common basis, parallels are either completely wanting in Mark, or we find a directly contradictory standpoint.

"3. Accordingly there cannot be the slightest idea of an influence of Pauline theology in the Gospel of Mark." (1)

Bacon attacks this view on the ground that it rests upon a misconception of the really distinctive feature of Mark's dependence upon Paul. He maintains that it looks for a mere borrowing of words and phrases while the true relationship "is supremely manifest in this evangelist's whole conception of what constitutes the apostolic message." (2) To support his contention he claims that Mark used as sources documents that had been written in the Greek language, and that these documents, while retaining traces in abundance of Aramaic originals, have undergone an infiltration of Paulinistic (if not Pauline) ideas. Passing to more direct influence he compares the proportion of space and interest given to teaching as against narrative material in Mark with the proportion for the same elements in Matthew and Luke. He infers from this comparison that Mark's concentration upon the story of Jesus' career, in particular the reduction of all soteriological teaching to the doctrine of the

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1. Bacon, B. W. - Gospel Of Mark - p. 247.
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Cross and Resurrection, cannot be explained without reference to Paul. Again, with one exception, the Parable of the Rejection of the Son (Mark 12:1-12), all of the discourses of Mark appear to have been developed with Pauline coloring. The result of Bacon's intensive survey of Mark and the Pauline Epistles is the conclusion that "if the evangelist knew these writings the influence they have exerted upon him has reached his mind rather than his pen. The few cases of phraseology that might be designated Pauline are such as can be easily accounted for through the currency of oral and traditional teaching of certain half-stereotyped forms. But if the question be put in another form, less specific, but equally conclusive as regards the question of date and composition, the answer will be quite different. If it be asked 'Can we imagine a gospel such as Mark taking form in a community ignorant of the teaching of Paul?' the answer is a decided No. The whole aim of the Gospel, its Christology and soteriology, its discourses and the framework of their composition, especially what we are able to trace out of its relation to earlier sources, make it impossible to account for such a composition as this without the life, the thought, and the teaching of Paul. Mark shows a direct, but not a literary dependence on the teaching of the great Apostle to the Gentiles."⁽¹⁾

There are some difficulties in the way of accepting this view whole-heartedly. Some of its supporters insist that any

1. Bacon, B. W. - Gospel Of Mark - p. 271.

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reference in Mark to the redemptive power of Jesus can be explained only by the intrusion of Pauline features into the original document. It is too much to believe that Paul was the only first-century Christian preacher who made that his theme. Bacon puts the responsibility for the "radical Paulinism" not upon Mark himself but upon a later anti-Judaistic editor. This, however, raises the question of why the same influence which inserted "To give his life a ransom for many" (10:45), did not bring about the omission of "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it unto the dogs" (7:27), a text which flies into the very teeth of Pauline doctrine and practice. If this practice of deliberately interpolating Pauline elements into the genuine Gospel tradition for dogmatic purposes prevailed to any great extent it is strange that some of Paul's essential principles are not more clearly enunciated in the Gospels. It is peculiar both that the only verse in Mark directly bearing upon the admission of the Gentiles is absolutely opposite to Paul's standpoint and that he himself never claims or quotes a single saying of Jesus in support of his argument that the barrier between Jew and Gentile has been demolished.

But this need not be taken to mean that there was no Pauline influence upon the Gospel of Mark. On the contrary there are rather clear-cut evidences of it. These, however, may indicate indirect or unconscious influence rather than deliberate. Phrases that sometimes sound Pauline, like "Abba,

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But this need not be taken to mean that there was no Pauline influence upon the Gospel of Mark. On the contrary there are rather abundant evidence of it. These, however, are indicative indirect or unconscious influence rather than deliberate. Phrases that sometimes sound Pauline, like "Abba,"

Father" (found only in Mark 14:36; Romans 8:15; Galatians 4:6) or the saying about the fulfilling of time (Mark 1:15 - Galatians 4:4) need not be denied to Mark for he most certainly came under Paul's influence. Many of these minute similarities are traces of the Apostolic Age, the Gospel naturally reflecting its environment in language and spirit - an environment into which the Pauline Gospel had entered. As a result it is difficult to separate any direct Pauline influence from the indirect.

On the one hand Mark diverges from Paul in his emphasis upon the proof from miracles; and in his theory of the resurrection appearances; in his title "Son of Man" which Paul never uses; and in some points of his Christology. The sayings about the source of defilement (Mark 7:15), the relation of man to the Sabbath (Mark 2:27-28), and the greatest commandment (12:32-34); the avoidance of the "law;" and the universalism of certain verses (11:17 and 13:10) are common to primitive Christianity and need not be regarded as specifically Pauline. And it is going a bit far to claim that the story of the unauthorized exorcist (9:38-39) and the refusal of the request of Zebedee's sons (10:35-41) are inserted in the interest of Paul, or that all references to the Cross and redemption must be attributed to Paulinism (as though Paul monopolized these in the primitive Church), or that a saying like "the spirit truly is ready, but the flesh is weak" is based on the Pauline category of the flesh and the spirit.

On the other hand, some allegorical or symbolical touches,

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On the other hand, some allegorical or symbolical touches,

for example those in the stories of the fig-tree (11:12-14) and the rending of the temple veil (15:38), are significantly Pauline in character. And the theory of the parables expressed by Mark 4:10-12 betrays the influence of such views as Paul urged in I Corinthians 14:21-22 and Romans 9:18-29; 10:16-21; 11:8-10. It is hard to find proof for a denial that this explanation of Jesus' method of teaching, in its present form at least, does not bear the print of Pauline theory of Israel's rejection.

Thus, in addition to such information as he may have derived from Peter, Mark has incorporated some of Paul's doctrines. But there is nothing strange about this, for any educated Christian living after the middle of the first century, let alone one who is supposed to have been an erstwhile traveling companion or attendant of the Apostle, could not fail to feel the influence of that great teacher. But the influence of Paul is very small in comparison with that of Peter and the other disciples. They, too, were interested in the problem presented by Jesus' Crucifixion and found in his Resurrection a satisfactory solution. They, too, had recognized both the humanity and the divine character of Jesus. "In a sense far from that contemplated by the critics of Tübingen Mark is the Gospel of Peter and Paul. Not as an effort at compromise between opposing parties in the Church does it seek the welfare of the whole, but conscious of the great message each Apostle had to convey, and in the spirit of their heroic martyrdom, it opens to the universal brotherhood of Christ the treasury of its

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apostolic teaching."

But back of the reflections of Pauline teachings, and of the lessons of his epistle to the Romans is the foundation of the story of Jesus as told by Peter, a story which Paul himself must have heard from Peter's lips. Since, to all appearances, there has been considerable influence of Paul upon our Gospel we have here a fact that makes the Petrine tradition a little less than absolutely true. We can still claim for it a large measure of worth, inasmuch as the Pauline influence is not nearly so great as the Petrine, but we can no longer take it at full face value.

"The evidence of the gospel itself is, in fact, conclusive that its origin is not from mere memory or oral tradition, but from careful putting together of written sources which the evangelist selectively undertook rather to adjust together and embellish with graphic touches from the Apostle's discourses, than to reproduce as a narrative altogether his own." The work of this work is largely upon the fact that in addition to the general tendency to amplification in expression, a very considerable amount of the Gospel repeats with some variation a story which has already been told. Not merely individual incidents are repeated, but a connected series is repeated.

1. Bacon, B. W. - Gospel Of Mark - p. 334.

2. Bacon, B. W. - An Introduction to the New Testament - p. 404

Chapter IX

Evidences Of Compilation

Just how much may underlie the high claim of the relation of Mark's Gospel to the Apostle Peter is a matter for far keener critical scrutiny than this paper contains. It must deal extensively with an examination of the text. But even this brief survey of the Petrine tradition and the efforts made to refute it has brought out the fact that the contents of Mark show evidence of being much more than a mere editing of Peter's sermons. There are many passages which, to say the least, give no intrinsic indication of coming from such a source, for example, the story of the tragic end of John the Baptist (Mark 6:17-29).

"The evidence of the gospel itself is, in fact, conclusive that its origin is not from mere memory or oral tradition, but from careful putting together of written sources which the evangelist modestly undertook rather to adjust together and embellish with graphic touches from the Apostle's discourse, than to supersede by a narrative altogether his own.⁽¹⁾" The proof of this rests largely upon the fact that in addition to the general tendency to duplication in expression, a very considerable element of the Gospel repeats with some variation a story which has already been told. Not merely individual incidents are repeated, but a connected series is duplicated, section by section. This is seen in a comparison of Mark 8:1-26

1. Bacon, B. W. - An Introduction To The New Testament - p. 207.

with Mark 6:31-7:37 in which events are exactly duplicated in both theme and order.

6:31-44	Miraculous feeding of a multitude somewhere on the east of the lake.	8:1-9
6:45-52	Crossing the lake.	8:10a
6:53-56	Arrival at the west of the lake.	8:10b
7:1-23	Conflict with the authorities.	8:11,12
7:24-31	Avoidance of the dominion of Antipas.	8:13-21
7:32-37	Healing on the east of the lake.	8:22-26

This looks strongly like an attempt to include two separate and slightly different accounts of the same incidents in one Gospel. It also explains the omission by Luke of Mark 6:45-8:26, for this is the section which contains the principal duplications, which fault Luke studiously avoids.

Another indication of the use of sources is the appearance of small groups of anecdotes, not linked together by sequence in memory, but designed to show the attitude of Jesus under various conditions of criticism and opposition. An example is found in the series of incidents in Mark 2:1-3:6. Here Jesus and the Pharisees come into conflict over forgiveness of sins (2:1-12), association with sinners (2:13-17), fasting (2:18-22), and Sabbath observance (2:23-27; 3:1-6). The last two stories in particular, since both are concerned with the keeping of the Sabbath, are evidently put side by side in order to illustrate

each other. Similarly short series of sayings occur in which it is hard to find any inner development or cohesion. They seem to stand where they are because their original setting has been lost and the author had no other convenient place to put them. They are it is true bound together after a fashion by a common theme such as "hidden light" in the series of Mark 4:21-25 or "prayer" in that of 11:23-25.

It is possible that the story of the Transfiguration (Mark 9:2-13) and the plotting of the chief priests and the scribes (Mark 14:1-2) may have come from an earlier written source. The time references in them, such as "and after six days" and "after two days was the feast of the Passover, and of unleavened bread," are different in kind and style from such vague references as we find elsewhere in this Gospel, such as, "in those days" (1:9), "and again" (2:1), "and when" (11:1). The words "after two days was the feast of the Passover" have the air of a new beginning which probably means that Mark here availed himself of an earlier document.

The "little Apocalypse" of Chapter 13 probably circulated as an independent pamphlet before being incorporated here. It is easy to believe that what professed to be the words of the Lord concerning the Last Times should be independently circulated and that the evangelist or a later editor incorporated it into the Gospel with or without revision. It is much the longest uninterrupted speech in the Second Gospel, a discourse extending through a long chapter being found nowhere else. In

contrast is the loosely joined string of parables in the fourth chapter (4:3-32). The language of the passage is also different from that of the rest of the book. The nucleus of this eschatological discourse seems to have been certain original sayings of Jesus regarding the fate of Jerusalem; but those sayings seem to have been expanded to contain the popular beliefs concerning Jesus' second coming that existed in the church (cf. II Thess. 2). The statement in the fourteenth verse, "Let him who reads understand," implies that this apocalypse was in written form before being introduced into the Gospel.

Scattered throughout the book are editorial touches due partly to catechetical influences, such as the addition of "Jesus Christ" and possibly of "the Son of God" to "gospel" (1:1), of "believe in the gospel" to "repent" (1:15), of "and the gospel's" to "for my sake" (8:35 and 10:29), of "because ye are Christ's" (9:41), and of "with persecutions" (10:30). Other later insertions are to be seen in the incidental description of the twelve as "apostles" (6:30), observations on Jesus' words (6:52 and 13:37), reflections of the apostolic age as, for example, in the description of John's baptism (1:4), editorial glosses like "This he said, making all meats clean" (7:19), and other additions which are either marginal notes, or insertions of an early copyist, such as, "take up your bed" (2:9), "the new from the old" (2:21), "him that had the legion" (5:15), etc. These things belong, however, to the excessive emendation which gathered around the text during the first

contrast is the loosely joined style of narrative in the fourth chapter (4:1-32). The language of the passage is also different from that of the rest of the book. The nucleus of this section is a collection of sayings which seem to have been certain original sayings of Jesus regarding the fate of Jerusalem; but these sayings seem to have been expanded to contain the popular beliefs concerning Jesus' second coming that existed in the church (cf. II Thess. 2). The statement in the fourteenth verse, "let him who reads understand," implies that this apocalypse was in written form before being introduced into the Gospel.

Scattered throughout the book are editorial touches due partly to canonical influences, such as the addition of "Jesus Christ" and possibly of "the Son of God" to "Gospel" (1:1), of "believe in the Gospel" to "read" (1:12), of "and the Gospel's" to "for my sake" (8:25 and 10:22), of "because ye are Christ's" (2:41), and of "with persecutions" (10:30). Other later insertions are to be seen in the incident of the twelve as "apostles" (4:12), observations on Jesus' words (6:52 and 13:37), reflections of the apostolic era as, for example, in the description of John's baptism (1:4), editorial phrases like "This he said, making all seats clean" (7:13), and other additions which are either marginal notes, or insertions of an early copyist, such as, "Take up your bed" (2:12), "the man from the old" (2:21), "him that had the legion" (5:15), etc. These things belong, however, to the extensive emendation which gathered around the text during the first

centuries.

There is one passage of the existing text of Mark that we must unconditionally reject - the conclusion (16:9-20). This is an obvious discrepancy with foregoing material, for we were led to expect resurrection appearances in Galilee. Furthermore, the style exhibits none of Mark's distinguishing characteristics and the verses are all to be found in the other Gospels. Even external evidence is against accepting this passage for it is lacking in most of the Greek manuscripts. The Gospel breaks off suddenly in the middle of a sentence at 16:8 with the words, "for they were afraid." Not only is it impossible to explain such an abrupt ending as intentional, but the previous verse has given promise of an appearance in Galilee, which would naturally be described by the author in due time. A shorter ending than that which we have is preserved in some Greek manuscripts, but since it only assumes the existence of the appearances and does not describe them, there is no reason for regarding it as genuine.

Various suggestions have been put forth to account for this lack of a genuine ending. One is that Mark was prevented from finishing the book by some emergency, the death of Peter, for instance, or some misfortune to the author himself. A second is that the ending was written but accidentally lost by mutilation of the manuscript - the detachment of the last leaf or the abrasion of the outside end of a roll. A third is that the ending was intentionally removed and suppressed before the

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book gained Canonical recognition. The reason for such action, if it was taken, was the rejection of the testimony of Mark, who probably made the first appearance of the risen Lord occur in Galilee and to Peter alone, in favor of that of that of the other Evangelists who assigned it to Jerusalem, before the women, or the eleven, or the disciples going to Emmaus.

The present ending is an attempt to supply a greivous deficiency in a sacred book. In a manuscript of 989 A. D. there is a scholion, the conjecture of an Armenian scribe, attributing it to "The Elder Ariston." This at first seemed to clear up (1) the matter, but it has been proven to be a garbled tradition. We can only surmise, then, where this ending came from and the most attractive suggestion is that it was adopted from some early apocryphal gospel.

We have already mentioned Mark's limited use of Q and his indebtedness to Paul. This permits us to sum up the discussion of Mark as a compilation by saying that there are no indications that the sources were either numerous or extensive. On the other hand our study has shown that we cannot think of this Gospel as merely a transcript of Peter's preaching. Though there are many primitive characteristics in the story it is certainly not the direct narrative of an eye-witness and participant in the events recorded. No doubt much of it does go back to Peter but we must allow for other sources as well. It is against all probability that Mark, having the unique advantages

1. Bacon, B. W. - The Beginnings Of Gospel Story - p. 238.

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that were his, should have limited himself, in writing his Gospel, to merely what he had heard Peter use in his preaching. Here was a man who had lived in Jerusalem; and had associated with all the apostles in the first decade; had been the attendant of Paul and the "interpreter" of Peter; had been born a Jew; understood Greek; was well though not rabbinically educated; and was eager to spread the story of Jesus. The stories and the knowledge of the sequence of events he had heard from Peter furnished him with an outline into which he placed single stories, groups of sayings, comments, and collections of primitive material in such a way as to show how Jesus, the Son of Man, came to his Cross. "He wrote not as a historian but as a propagator of religious ideas, and put forth his Gospel with the same independence as he showed on his first missionary journey, not to fit a Pauline or a Petrine statement but to suit the needs of those whose requirement was salvation."⁽¹⁾

1. Jülicher, G. A. - "The Gospel Of Mark" - art, in The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia Of Religious Knowledge - Funk and Wagnalls, N. Y., 1910, p. 184.

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Chapter X

Summary

The foregoing chapters have given us a brief review of the history of the Tradition that joined the name of the Apostle Peter with the Gospel According to Mark. This tradition, we have seen, had its beginning in a statement of Papias to the effect that Mark having been quite intimately associated with Peter put into writing what he could remember from Peter's sermons concerning the words and deeds of Jesus. That this tradition existed before Papias is indicated by Papias claim that he derived it from "the Elder" who had been a disciple of the apostles. This may well be taken to indicate that the tradition began in the first century. At any rate it found wide acceptance throughout the early Church as shown by the references made to it by the Fathers representing various sections of the world and various stages of early Christian history. An interesting feature of this acceptance is that as time passed an even greater part was given to Peter in the writing of the Gospel until he was finally said to have dictated it to Mark. This tradition was so widespread and so continuous that it demands careful scrutiny of internal evidence before judgment can be passed against it.

The internal evidence in turn was found to support the tradition for the most part. Although the book itself makes no reference to its author or origin, evidence can be readily collected to demonstrate strong Petrine influence. It is fairly

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easy to show that Mark fulfills the requirements of the description given by Papias. Even the troublesome "not in order" can be explained away as having reference to some accepted external standard. Demonstration can be given that this was a Roman Gospel; that it fit Peter's own description of his preaching content; that its graphic details came from an eye-witness, who judging by both the style and the content must have been Peter. But all these things do not prove the tradition, they only support it. Their support, however, is strong enough to demand consideration.

The first one to make an assertion that tended to undermine the tradition was Augustine who claimed that Mark was merely an epitomizer of Matthew. This, of course is false but it is significant that Augustine had recognized the agreements in the Gospels that underlie the Synoptic relationship. But that relationship, namely, that Matthew, Mark, and Luke contain agreements and differences that cannot be attributed to chance, gives rise to other theories that strike at the Petrine origin of Mark. Of the theories offered to explain this phenomenon the Two-Document Hypothesis is the only one which offers a satisfactory solution. This theory holds that Matthew and Luke both used Mark in essentially its present form as a basis for their Gospels. This establishes the priority of Mark and lends support to the Petrine Tradition. By so doing it refutes the Primacy theory in the forms which put Matthew and Luke before Mark. This is important because a victory for the primacy of

Matthew or Luke would have destroyed the Tradition.

The Two-Document Hypothesis does, however, leave the way open for a theory that Matthew and Luke used not our canonical Mark but an earlier form of it, Ur-Marcus. Elaborate attempts at the recovery of Ur-Marcus have been only partially convincing because when we get back beyond what we actually have it must be acknowledged that we are dealing with surmises only. Some of the proponents of Ur-Marcus believe it to have been the Gospel referred to by Papias. It is generally conceded, however, that the first documentary source of the Synoptists was our canonical Mark or something very similar to it.

The other source, now lost to us, seems to have been a document which contained a collection of sayings of Jesus. Because its exact nature is unknown to us we designate it merely as "Q." Although there are considerable overlappings of the two documents there is no conclusive evidence that either used the other.

A new school of thought, Form-Criticism, attempts to get back of Mark by analyzing it into its component "forms." These are stereotyped bits of oral tradition whose forms were determined by the needs of the early Church. Since this theory has not yet proven its worth it has had little effect upon the matter in hand.

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Turning to an older school which has found supporters in
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threatened the tradition, but it is now conceded that it would be extremely difficult for anyone to trace out a "tendency writing" in Mark. Any indications that it was such may be regarded as accidental. The theory has, however, disclosed considerable Paulinism in Mark which may or may not have been the result of direct influence. Dr. Bacon maintains that Mark is the most Paulinistic of the Synoptic Gospels and that his relationship is not one of borrowing but of mutual conception of the task of spreading "the gospel about Christ." One thing is sure the studies of the Tübingen School and of Dr. Bacon have opened the way for a study of the internal evidence of compilation in Mark. It is here that we find the real repudiation of the Petrine origin of Mark. Much of the material is Petrine, without a doubt, but allowance must be made for other sources as well. Duplication of expression, repetition of series of stories, inclusion of series of narratives and sayings, and "the little Apocalypse" all point to Mark as a compiler. Such evidence works havoc with the testimony of the ancients for Peter can no longer be regarded as the sole source of our Second Gospel. The present estimate of that Gospel is summed up exactly in the following paragraph.

"Not Peter's memoirs, then, though Peter contributed indirectly to it, but the work of Mark, in Rome, sometime after the death of Peter and Paul, who used in his work all the materials (1) which were available - so should we describe this gospel."

1. Branscomb, Harvie - The Teachings Of Jesus - Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn, 1931, p. 51.

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